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Ecclesiological Essays

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EDITED BY VERNON STALEY

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Volume VII.

Ecclesiological Essays

BY

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PREFACE

This seventh volume of The Library of Liturgiology and Ecclesiology consists of a number of essays from the pen of Dr. J. Wickham Legg, on subjects connected with ecclesiology. The essays originally appeared in various publications between the years A.D. 1895 and 1900; and, as they treat of matters of considerable importance, it has been thought well that they should be collected and reprinted in one volume for greater security and readiness of reference.

I beg to tender my acknowledgments to the Editor of *The Church Quarterly Review*, The Council of the St. Paul's Ecclesiological Society, and the Editor of *The Church Times*, for their kind and ready permission to reprint the following essays. I am specially grateful to Dr. Legg for the great trouble he has taken in preparing the work for the press and in supplying the Index, which has been added by the kindness of a Sister of the Community of All Saints.

VERNON STALEY.

Inverness, N.B.

June 10, 1905.

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Revised and Shortened Services

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Revised and Shortened Services

The proceedings in both Convocations early in the year 1905 and the publication by Lord Hugh Cecil of a Church Discipline Bill in the House of Commons make it clear that the forces of disorganization are once more about to make a vigorous attack upon the institutions and liturgy of the Church of England. Under these circumstances it may be well to recall some of the attempts, successful and unsuccessful, which have been made of late years upon the integrity and historical character of the Prayer Book. One of the successful attempts, and also one of the most deplorable wrongs inflicted upon us, was the passing of the Act of Uniformity Amendment Act, commonly known as the Shortened Services Act of 1872. We may notice the same want of liturgical knowledge in Convocation then as now, and the same defiance of precedent. There seems to be abroad a firm belief that all will be well if we are only sufficiently bold to disregard altogether what experience may have taught us. We are to look upon the Prayer Book and the Church of England as vile bodies upon which experiments may be tried.

When the Shortened Services Act was passed in 1872 some of us can remember how exultant many of the friends of the Church were. We were told that liturgical expansion and elasticity were gained at last; "Dearly beloved brethren" was not hereafter to be the only spiritual pabulum which the Church of England had to offer to hungry souls. Our services were now to be bright and hearty, and all would throng to them. The

wooden age was over ; the golden age had begun. There were some who uttered a word of warning, neglected in the general congratulation ; but even the more cautious did not quite foresee the untoward results that were to follow the passing of the Act. It has not drawn the masses to church. It has discouraged the attendance of the devout laity. It has encouraged idleness and carelessness ; and, further, it has led directly to the state of liturgical anarchy that we now endure. Of this result we will speak further on, but first of all we propose to examine the lines on which Divine Service is constructed in the Prayer Book, and to compare its unaltered services with those offered to us by the Shortened Services Act.

If we look at that part of the preface to the Prayer Book that has the heading " Concerning the Services of the Church," we shall find that the term " Divine Service " is limited, as it was in the middle ages, to the choir offices, to the recitation of the Breviary or Psalter. The ancient Fathers, it tells us, " so ordered the matter that all the whole Bible (or the greatest part thereof) should be read over every year," and the Psalms were divided into seven portions, so that the whole Psalter was read over once a week. When the Divine Service was rearranged in the sixteenth century, this was the ideal which was before the minds of the compilers of the Book of Common Prayer ; but with two services only in the day, Mattins and Evensong, they did not attempt a weekly, but only a monthly, recitation of the Psalter. All the psalms were to be recited, without exception. Services giving the recitation of psalms in their regular order and the reading of Holy Scripture in a definite course were those which the reformed Church of England aimed at, and in this aim she did but follow in the steps of the earliest Christian practice, which we find set forth by Mgr. Batiffol and Dom Suitbert Bäumer in their classical works on the history of the Divine Service.

This being the case, let us see how far the authors of

the Shortened Services Act have kept before them the aim of the Church of England in Divine Service. Instead of three to five psalms at each service, permission is given to recite only one. Instead of two lessons from Holy Scripture, one from the Old Testament, the other from the New, permission is given to read only one lesson. Instead of the large amount of orderly Scripture reading —nearly the whole Bible every year—to listen to which it was once the good fortune of those who attended Divine Service daily, the amount of Psalter and Scripture lesson is reduced to the smallest, and there is no guarantee that the reading shall be continuous, so that the greatest part of the Bible shall be read through in the year, as designed in the Prayer Book. To-day, the one lesson may be from the Old Testament; to-morrow, or the rest of the week, the lesson may be from the New; there may be one lesson only at Mattins, and two at Evensong; the course and amount of Bible reading are at "the discretion of the minister." There can be no denying that the Scriptural elements, which are the really important parts of Divine Service, have been very greatly reduced, and thereby has been injured the good reputation of the Church of England as the great communion of Christendom that feeds her children largely and daily with the pure Word of God. To speak the truth, *the Prayer Book conception of the Divine Service was destroyed in* 1872.

Now, nothing would have been easier, if the draftsmen of the Act had really wished it, than to retain the old liturgical lines of Divine Service. They could have done this, and yet shortened the service quite as much as, if not more than, they have done. (We argue for the moment on the supposition, which we should not willingly accept, that it is desirable to shorten the daily service at all.) They could have lopped off the beginning and ending of the service, and yet left us the essence and Scripture part. To show this: at Mattins they could have begun with *Venite* and continued thence, in the

regular order of the Prayer Book, to the Lord's Prayer after the Creed. At Evensong they could have begun with the psalms of the day, and so on through the lessons of the same, ending with the Lord's Prayer. This would have preserved the marrow of the service, all the psalms and hymns, canticles and lessons, would have been retained; and privately by those who wished, there could have been prefixed the preparatory part of the service, confession, Lord's Prayer, and versicles; and at the end could have been added the prayers, or *preces*, as they are called, collects, and intercessions. If this be thought too bald, the introductory Lord's Prayer and versicles might have been retained, and the prayers with the three collects added at the end without greatly increasing the length of time to be spent in prayer. But the shortened services scheme shows small acquaintance with liturgical studies. Nowhere can better evidence of this be found than in this one point, viz. the direction to omit *Kyrie* and the Lord's Prayer[1] in the prayers (or lesser litany, as it is called) after the Creed. This omission jars upon any one with a sense of antiquity. The Lord's Prayer is the summing up of all the prayers and praises just offered in the psalms and Scripture lessons and canticles. To take it away from this place is to destroy the very kernel of the Divine Service. The Lord's Prayer comes at this place in all rites, ancient and modern. Cardinal Tommasi was one of the first ritualists, if not the very first, that the world has seen since the Reformation, and in his scheme for shortened

[1] Doubtless this omission was suggested by one who objected to repetitions. But a real authority, the late Bishop of Oxford, writing in favour of some variation in services, expresses himself as follows: "I would not surrender one of the repetitions of the Lord's Prayer, for I never met a man who, being asked whether in one, two, or three repetitions, he was really conscious that he had put his heart into every clause, and had asked with spirit and understanding for everything that, when he really sets to work to pray, he feels is wrapped up in those clauses, could reply that he had done so, and could dispense with a supplementary repetition." (W. Stubbs, *Visitation Charges*, edited by E. E. Holmes, Longmans, 1904, p. 47.)

services to be used in country churches and the oratories of lay confraternities, the Lord's Prayer was preserved at the end of the service in the place of the collects.[1] His plan was to remove from the Divine Service all that was not taken from Holy Scripture; all anthems, responds, metrical hymns, even the collects, in place of which last was to be recited the Lord's Prayer. The Divine Service would consist of the psalms, hymns,[2] and lessons, and nothing more. The course of the psalms was to be strictly adhered to, proper psalms being recited only on Christmas Day, the Epiphany, Easter Day, and the like. And he gives a scheme of three Scripture lessons based upon the old course of Isaiah in Advent and Genesis in Septuagesima, with the outline of which we are all familiar. There can be no doubt that Cardinal Tommasi's plan of shortened services is infinitely better than that which appears in the schedule of the Act of 1872. It is wholly Biblical; it could not be objected to by a Puritan, and yet nothing could be more primitive and patristic. It is very much to be wished that some Scriptural plan of this sort had been before the draftsmen of the Act of 1872.

Another ancient feature has disappeared from the scheme of the Shortened Services of 1872: the invitatory psalm to the services of the day, *Venite*, which is found all over the West in the ancient rites; its position as the first psalm of Mattins was kept in the Continental reforms of the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries.[3] Then as to *Te Deum*, which in very early times appears to have been

[1] *Thomasii Opera*, Romæ, 1754, ed. Vezzosi, vii. 62: "De privato ecclesiasticorum officiorum Breviario extra chorum." As to the Lord's Prayer see p. 67. The whole tract is well worth attention. It has lately(1904) been edited under the auspices of the Church Historical Society, and published by the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge.

[2] By hymns we mean *Te Deum*, *Benedictus*, *Magnificat*, as in the Prayer Book, or the Scripture canticles at Lauds in the breviaries.

[3] See a paper on "Some local Reforms of the Divine Service attempted on the Continent in the Sixteenth Century" in *Transactions of the St. Paul's Ecclesiological Society*, 1901, vol. v. p. 17.

said every day at Mattins, neither it nor its substitute need ever be said on a weekday at all. Some authority may be quoted for its omission from Septuagesima to Easter, on Ember days, vigils, and other fasts, but its omission on festivals is very unusual. Except by the favour of "the officiating minister" we need not have *Te Deum* on any weekday festival except Christmas Day and Holy Thursday, not even *Benedicite*; while the draftsmen of the Act have been careful to protect us from the repetition of *Benedictus* on St. John Baptist's day. Truly they have here strained out the gnat and swallowed a camel.

Again, except by favour of "the officiating minister," *Quicunque vult* need never be heard except on Christmas Day, Easter Day, Ascension Day, Whit-Sunday, Trinity Sunday, or, by chance, on a Sunday upon which some festival happens to fall to which the Athanasian Creed is assigned. The prayers for the King, the royal family, and the estates of the realm need never be said on a week-day. Their omission is perhaps due to some unhistorical notions about the "regalism" of the Prayer Book. There may be no prayers for the sovereign in the Roman liturgy, but this by no means proves that it is a Catholic custom to omit them. Owing to the secular enmity between the Pope and the Emperor, the prayers in the Roman Missal "for kings and for all in authority" have been reduced to nothing. The words "et rege nostro N." have been expunged from the canon of the Mass; and, since the disappearance of the Holy Roman Empire, the prayers for the Emperor on Good Friday and Easter Even, though still printed, have ceased to be recited, very much as the prayers for the King and Parliament, though printed, have greatly ceased in our time to be recited. The custom in England before the Norman Conquest was to pray for the King daily four times at Mass; and the Benedictines, if no other order, recited special psalms and collects at Mattins for the King, Queen, and royal family. No remark is needed upon

the direction to omit "the prayer for all conditions of men," or "the general thanksgiving." Its want of piety will be felt by every devout soul.[1]

Evensong is treated in the same way, being usually said without *Magnificat*, because that is longer than *Nunc dimittis*. We often find the Act abused in a mischievous way. Parochial gatherings are announced, meetings of choirs, harvest festivals are to be held, and with the announcement there appears the statement that "shortened Evensong will be sung." This means that the orderly system of the Prayer Book is broken in upon, a mere section of Evensong recited, while elaborate music is performed, made to last the best part of an hour, the congregation (or shall we say the audience ?) being invited to sit.

And when the service has been cut down to the limits allowed by the Act, what has been attained ? It is a shame to us to speak of having saved time. That cannot be the gain. The layman who comes to join in the praises of God in his parish church feels no happiness in having the time which he proposes to devote to Divine Service shortened by some poor five minutes. Punctuality in beginning the service would please him more. If the service, whether Eucharist or choir office, were begun as the clock strikes, we should have a reform far more acceptable to the layman than shortened services. And to the conscientious clergyman the "shortened services" are, indeed, no shortened services at all. He is bound to recite the whole, "either privately or openly," as it stands in the Prayer Book. So that, after attending

[1] It is allowed by most that the reform of the Roman Breviary under Pius V. in 1568 was not well done, for causes of which the Bishop of Lerida forewarned the Tridentine Fathers. (See below, p. 18.) Yet both the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries saw several very important schemes of reform of the Divine Service which might have afforded valuable hints to the draftsmen of the Act of 1872. But no intimation is given that they were acquainted with these schemes. At all events they were not heeded, and the usual punishment for contempt of the lessons of experience has descended upon such rejection.

one of these shortened and eviscerated services, he has to begin his own service over again, and say it as it should be said, with psalms and lessons intact. Shall we be astonished when we hear that under such circumstances lay folk, as well as clergy, discontinue daily attendance at the parish church ? though we know it is always best to recite the service in choir ; or, failing that, in company.

And now we come to the consideration of the second part of our subject : the disastrous state of affairs to which the working of this Act has led us—this " unfortunate and much perverted " Act, as an Archbishop of Canterbury has called it,[1] a strong expression considering the position of the speaker as Primate of all England, and his authority as a private doctor in all matters of liturgy. " Unfortunate " the Act is in many respects, but not least in the licence that it has suggested if not definitely allowed beyond the prescribed scope of the Act itself. For example, one psalm only may be said : *one or more* is the rubric. The whole of one psalm must be said ; yet if a psalm at a service on a week-day be a little long, these lovers of shortened services do not hesitate to leave out the greater part of the psalm, say, of the psalm at Evensong on the third, seventh, fifteenth, and seventeenth days, or at Mattins on the thirteenth day. On the other days they are, indeed, within the law in reading only the shortest psalm, which is that usually chosen ; and so all orderly recitation of the Psalter in course is destroyed ; we no longer have all the psalms recited once a month ; and we are thus reduced precisely to that state lamented in the preface of the Book of Common Prayer, a state which the Reformation was designed to remedy : " now of late time a few of them have been daily said, and the rest utterly omitted."

It is bad enough to have these omissions practised on

[1] Edward White [Benson], Archbishop of Canterbury, *Fishers of Men*, London, 1893, p. 97. (iv. Struggling Views.)

a week-day; but when these mutilations are imposed upon the faithful on a Sunday they are plainly illegal, for the Shortened Services Act expressly excludes from its action Sundays and a few great days.[1] The whole of the service as set out in the Prayer Book must be recited once on a Sunday if any regard be had to the law. But we now begin to feel the evils of the indirect suggestions of the Act, for who has not attended services on Sunday in country places where Mattins or Evensong, being the only Mattins or Evensong said in that church on that day, has not been mutilated after the same fashion that the Shortened Services Act directs on a week-day?

Worse lies before us. Grievous mutilations of the Eucharistic Service have undoubtedly been suggested

[1] In the *Times* of April 23, 1903, p. 10, col. vi., under the title of "Lawlessness in the Church of England," Mr. F. C. Eeles thus describes his experiences: "On the morning of Good Friday last I went to the parish church of All Saints, Wandsworth, which I believe to be my parish church, expecting to find the services prescribed by the Book of Common Prayer for that occasion. Matins, Metrical Litany, Ante Communion (Special Exhortation) were announced for 11 a.m., and the Prayer Book services were mutilated in the following manner:

"(1) *Venite* was omitted.

"(2) Another second lesson was substituted for that appointed by the Prayer Book.

"(3) The first of the three Good Friday collects was omitted.

"(4) A 'Metrical Litany' was substituted for the Prayer Book litany which is ordered for every Friday in the year.

"(5) In the 'Ante Communion' service the second two of the Good Friday collects were omitted.

"(6) The officiant made certain alterations in reading the exhortation beginning 'Dearly beloved . . . I purpose through God's assistance,' etc., one such alteration being 'let him come to some discreet and learned Minister,' instead of 'let him come to me, or to some other discreet and learned Minister,' as in the Prayer Book.

"(7) After the alms had been collected he said, 'Let us pray,' omitting the words 'for the whole Estate of Christ's Church militant here in earth' and omitting the whole of the prayer itself.

"(8) In giving the blessing he omitted the first part.

"It is worth remarking that at the other church under the care of the Vicar of Wandsworth (Holy Trinity) not one of the Prayer Book services was announced on the printed bills for Good Friday."

by this Act. The omission of the Ten Commandments and of the Liturgical Collect for the King is bad. Both of these omitted parts have excellent authority; one is the prophetical lesson, lost, indeed, by the modern Roman Missal, but present to this day in the Ambrosian and Mozarabic liturgies and in Eastern rites; the Collect for the King is a following of the *Missa quotidiana pro rege* of the Gregorian Sacramentary. It would seem that the omission of the prayer for the Church militant were almost an impossibility; yet it is practised; and so also, notoriously, are left out the Confession, Absolution, and Comfortable Words. How much further mutilation can go we cannot divine; yet report tells us of other and, if possible, more vital omissions still. Without the Shortened Services Act we should have had none of these scandals, scandals which, if Lord Hugh Cecil's bill become law, may be condoned by Parliament.

How a clergyman who has made the solemn promise to use the Book of Common Prayer, and none other, can reconcile it to his conscience to do the things which are unhappily now notorious, we do not understand. And this disregard of the rules of the Prayer Book is, it must be owned, not limited to any one school in the Church: the Low Church and the Broad Church are as deeply involved as the High Church. We read in the *Guardian* of a Broad Church canon arraying himself in some gaudy clothing, unknown in the second year of the reign of King Edward VI., and then proceeding to mutilate the address in the Marriage Service, the substance of which goes back to the early days of Christianity, in order, we may suppose, to spare the prudery of an age that has invented the new woman and other marks of progress. When men who ought to be bound by the rule of the Church (as their name would imply) set this example, how can we be surprised if the new-ordained priest thinks it the right thing to mutilate the forms of sacraments and sacramentals to the verge, or beyond the verge, of invalidity?

We have been told that it is now a common custom in certain churches on Sunday mornings to say Mattins and Litany, which are followed by a sermon; and then, on the withdrawal of the bulk of the congregation, the priest begins *at the offertory* to celebrate the Eucharist. By this means the reading of the Collect, Epistle, Gospel, and Nicene Creed is avoided. It would seem certain that, unless something can be done to stem this mania of abbreviation, there will be nothing liturgical left to our children. They will have to struggle even for the valid administration of the sacraments.

In the same direction there has been a tendency in the debates in Convocation of late years to throw too much responsibility into the hands of the clergyman who says Divine Service. A certain choice of collects and other prayers there has been always, as we may see in the ancient Sacramentaries, with their long lists *Item alia*, but with the structure of the service defined and mapped out with precision. Now, when we go into church we sometimes do not know what sort of service will be said. The psalms and lessons might, for us, be chosen on the spur of the moment; the modern church services, indeed, are not unlike the extempore services of the Puritans in their uncertain character. A great reform would be the removal of this uncertainty. What we really want is to be no longer at the mercy of "the officiating minister." We want it to be clearly understood that the bishop, as soon as he puts on his rochet, or the parish priest his surplice, is no longer his own master, but that he is the servant of the Church. An encouragement of the spirit of obedience to the Book of Common Prayer is an urgent need.

To add to our anxieties, a demand is now made for a revision of the rubrics, apparently for the purpose of giving greater licence to the officiant and increasing the uncertainty of our services. Only a few years ago, and it seems that we have now to face the danger again, a Bill was introduced into the Upper House of the

Canterbury Convocation which threatened us with changes which were the more alarming because we could not see to what they would grow. It was proposed that the alterations made by the two Convocations in the rubrics should be laid upon the table of the Houses of Parliament, and then, after a certain time, if no address were presented against the alterations, they should, with the consent of the Crown, have the force of law. What a prospect of unlimited change was opened before us![1] And the kind of changes that we may well expect are to

[1] In this connexion we extract from the *Guardian* of Feb. 26, 1896, a letter from "Anglicanus" on the "Amendment of Rubrics":—

"SIR,—The genius for understanding the value and force of rubrics, with which a more gifted generation than our own supplied us, the power of constructing Church services, or even a single satisfactory prayer, seems to have been long lost to us. It was a venerable tradition of more religious and less restless times. We might have kept the secret by using the material which we have inherited in the Prayer Book. But we have been too busy in other ways.

"Believing that there can be no fault in ourselves, we always seek for it in the Prayer Book. Last week's Convocation was (not to speak disrespectfully) *considering* whether an indulgent permission to the clergy to exercise their private judgment upon the rubrics would not be desirable. It seems a great power to put into the hands of men who are very unlikely to be more gifted with wisdom and judgment than are men in general, and to show a startling degree of confidence. And considering that it means the breaking down of an intelligent, orderly ecclesiastical system, the subject was considered by some persons to have been treated with too much self-complacency.

"Rubrics seem to be intended as a carefully arranged barrier against ignorance and lawlessness. They are necessary for instructing men who are mostly ill provided with ecclesiastical or even orderly instincts, which are far more rare in this generation than many people imagine. Their value can only be fully understood by those who realize with a real faith the majesty of Him Whom they address in divine service, and the personal worthlessness of themselves. To such men rubrics appear a most grateful help, to be handled with reverence and thankfulness. An accommodation of them, or 'amendment,' as it is called, means a revolution. In the spirit in which the attempt is being made, it turns what has a divine reference into a something to be treated by the clergyman as suits his own taste and convenience. Those who need them most will use them least. We have already seen the result of another 'amendment' movement in 'The Shortened Services Act.' As might have been foreseen, that Act has been accepted as permitting mutilations and shortening of services anyhow and anywhere, at the will of the incumbent. Just the same would happen with the amended rubrics. It would establish complete lawlessness. In noticing this fact as regards the

be seen in the rubrics of the Convocation Prayer Book,[1] published in 1880 by Mr. John Murray. The book does not impress us very favourably; the learning shown in the various amendments is not such as we should imagine we have a right to expect from the Convocation of Canterbury; and after some study of the book, the conclusion is forced upon us that hardly any of the changes proposed are necessary or called for. In the alterations made by the Canterbury Convocation we could wish for a far greater knowledge of the history of the rubrics, of liturgy in general, and of the Prayer Book in particular. The changes seem to have been made by theologians rather than by rubricians, or ritualists, or liturgical scholars, or whatever name may be given to those who make the history of the Prayer Book their

shortened services, a very high ecclesiastical authority has spoken of this Act as 'unfortunate and perverted.' It was a case of thoughtless legislation for men who are not troubled with too scrupulous consciences.

"If it were otherwise desirable, such latitude as is implied by the amended rubrics debate cannot be allowed to a largely untrained body of men, who are hungering for a change in things of the value of which they are largely unaware, and for the possession of a personal power in connexion with divine service, which must lower divine worship to the level of the meeting-house. I say nothing of the unhappy and helpless position of the laity under such an unlooked-for change—from Church authority to that of an individual. We have talked of late of the reunion of Christendom, but we are arranging for a great disruption at home.

"The effort made by Bishop Blomfield for correcting lawlessness by a demand for a loyal observance of the Prayer Book was deficient in firmness of handling, and was, no doubt, somewhat premature and sudden, but it was true in principle. The Prayer Book is our *terra firma*, which the sermon preached by Mr. Gore at Cambridge on Quinquagesima Sunday *seems* to point to. If so, it gives a welcome gleam of light in a dreary sky. The work of recovery is no doubt *to us* a difficult one; but to counter-work the spirit of lawlessness and disorder which, for our sins, no doubt, has possessed us is a *divine* work. It must have a blessing. For the Church of England can only do the work which is laid upon her if she has the grace to do it loyally, with the powers and weapons with which she has been providentially endowed, trusting the future to God, with a firm faith.

"The *Spectator* of this week calls 'the state of anarchy which now prevails in the Church of England almost sickening.' Is Convocation anxious to legalise such anarchy?

"ANGLICANUS."

[1] The new Accession service of 1901 gives fresh evidence of the incapacity of a modern Convocation to deal with liturgy.

study. We need not enter very far into the book before we find evidence of this. First of all there is the Shortened Services Act incorporated into the Prayer Book; of the value of this as a liturgical production we have already expressed an opinion; then comes a table of proper psalms for sixteen days, and for the Sundays following some of these days: the annual number is thus nineteen. Surely history is written in vain for some theologians. It was the overgrowth of days for which proper psalms were appointed that led to the state of affairs in the sixteenth century, which made all men cry out, even the Council of Trent, for a reform of the Divine Service. In the Prayer Book of 1662 we have just enough proper psalms; we need no more; we could have even spared proper psalms and lessons for Ash Wednesday, for in accordance with ancient practice this day had no special psalms, hymns, or lessons. The use of the seven penitential psalms on this day is, however, very appropriate to the beginning of Lent. Now, until the Shortened Services Act was passed, we had the recitation of the Psalter in order, daily, every psalm to his own day. An increase of the number of days to which proper psalms are assigned increases the evil done by the Shortened Services Act, so that it will not be long before our people will only be acquainted with some few of the psalms, and as a whole the Psalter will be unknown to them. This, we are told, is still the case with the modern Roman Catholics, as it was before the sixteenth century: "Now of late time a few of them have been daily said, and the rest utterly omitted."[1] What we want to keep is recitation of the entire Psalter at least every month, and of the whole Bible once a year.

The state to which some advanced spirits would reduce our services is really this late mediaeval corruption. They tell us that the psalms are no longer the manual of Christian devotion that nineteen centuries have found them, but that they must be selected for modern use, as

[1] *Preface to the Prayer Book.*

all do not quite express the ideas of liberal Christianity. And we are also told that the lessons from the Bible are not fit for pious ears, but that some kind of legends must be substituted for them in our services.

To continue our criticism of the Convocation Prayer Book. The ornaments rubric, so far as it concerns the ornaments of the ministers of the Church, is suppressed. Permission is given, in the teeth of history, to use the Easter anthem in place of *Venite* throughout Easter week. Had the anthem been restored to its place before Mattins, as in the first Edwardian book, so that *Venite* should never be displaced, that restoration would have been more in accordance with liturgical custom. We find even technical words used in a strange sense. The Roman expression *office* appears rather than the more English word *service*. *Offertory* is positively used of a mere collection of money; altered, however, by the York Convocation into *collection of alms and other devotions of the people*, a correction in which we may very likely trace the hand of the Rev. T. F. Simmons, Canon of York. Most of the alterations made by Canterbury have very wisely been omitted by York; the ornaments rubric has been restored, and the like. We are indeed grateful to the York Convocation for their action; but are we sure that we shall always have a rubrician and historian among them like Mr. Simmons, able to control the appetite of the theologians for change? Shall we always have the good fortune of being able to prevent, as in 1879, the disturbance of the settlement of 1662? It is to be hoped sincerely that means will be taken, if the proposed Bill should ever become law, to make it impossible for us to be at the mercy of any sudden squall of public opinion which will frighten Convocation into some serious act that cannot be undone. We have seen in 1904 how much we can now trust the bishops of the northern Province to guard the faith. Our dangers were increased when the author of the proposed bill became Archbishop of Canterbury.

We must own that, as we read Dr. Randall Davidson's speech in Convocation in 1896, we began to fear that the spirit of Pius IX. and of Cardinal Manning was about to find a shelter in the Church of England; and that, in a communion which exists by virtue of its appeal to history, the appeal to history was now to be denounced as a treason. "It is not to my mind," said the Bishop, "quite satisfactory that, when we want to know about some rule which is to be, or ought to be, enjoined, it should be to archæologists rather than to theologians that we are bound to go."[1] Now, we know already the likely result of an appeal to theologians from the archæologists, or rubricians, ritualists, liturgical scholars, or whatever we call them. It is before us in the altered rubrics of the Convocation Prayer Book. We can see there the unintelligent way in which the rubrics have been handled. And yet the advocates of the new Bill desire to change the rubrics while refusing the warnings that can be given by those versed in the study of history, and while despising the checks offered by past experience. The mere introduction of the Bill was alarming enough; but our alarm is not diminished when those who wish to see the Bill become law tell us that they appeal from the antiquary to the politician; from the man of knowledge to the practical man; from the scholar to the Philistine. When the proposal to review the Roman liturgical books was made at the Council of Trent, and the papal party succeeded in their design of giving this commission to the Roman See, it was not, however, until they had been warned by the Bishop of Lerida that in making liturgical corrections "there was need of an exquisite knowledge of Antiquity, and of the Customs of all Countries, which will not be found in the Court of *Rome*; where, though there be Men of exquisite Wit and of great Learning, yet they want skill in this kind, which is necessary to do anything commendably herein."[2]

[1] *Guardian*, February, 1896, p. 291, col. iii.

[2] Sir Nathanael Brent's translation of Father Paul's *History of the Council*

As at the court of Rome in the sixteenth century, there may be excellent theologians, administrators, diplomatists, men of the world, and courtiers in Convocation in the twentieth. Yet if those with "an exquisite knowledge of Antiquity" be not allowed to speak, we can expect nothing but disaster from a revision of the rubrics under such circumstances. Instead of the liturgical principles which have guided the Church from the earliest times, and which are best known to the archæologist and historian, we are to consult our convenience; hardly a commendable spring of action, even if it be limited by being convenience "in the largest and highest sense of the word." When the Prayer Book was to be revised in 1661, it was not to convenience, but to the ancient liturgies, that our fathers turned their minds.[1]

That this fear of the man with real knowledge is still present with our authorities is shown in the exclusion from the Royal Commission, now investigating disorders in the Church, of any one possessed of a special knowledge of the history of the rubrics of the Book of Common Prayer. It is even said that only those are examined by the Commission who offer themselves as witnesses, an unsatisfactory method for procuring sound and trustworthy information on which to base a report to the Sovereign. It is a return to Dr. Davidson's policy of consulting the politician or theologian, but not the historian or the rubrician.

It is said that the Royal Commission has discovered the most deplorable and widespread disorders in the Church. That but few people obeyed the Book of Com-

of Trent, London, 1676, p. 747. The reform of the Breviary was done with considerable haste, and the truth of the Bishop's forecast has been verified by the attempts which have been made at amendment. (See Pierre Batiffol, *Histoire du Breviaire romain*, ch. vi.)

[1] The King's commission directs the Bishops "to advise upon and review the said Book of Common Prayer, comparing the same with the most ancient liturgies which have been used in the Church in the primitive and purest times." (D. Wilkins, *Concilia*, London, 1737, vol. iv. p. 571.)

mon Prayer was perfectly well known to all those who had taken any pains to watch events : and it is also true that the disorders are most widespread, not amongst the members of the High Church party, but amongst those in authority, and the Low Church and Broad Church. Instead of doing justice to those who have carefully followed the laws of this Church and Realm, it may very likely be proposed (and Lord Hugh Cecil's Bill may only be the forerunner of what our authorities will attempt) that these disorders shall all be legalised. The principles of the revision of 1661 are to be given up ; and one parish may be allowed to worship according to John Knox's directory ; another according to Dr. Samuel Clarke's Arian Liturgy ; and a third according to the Roman Mass.

To revise the Book of Common Prayer would be to court disaster. It is not contended that the book has no imperfections : but any change is full of danger. First, because the Book of Common Prayer is that upon which we are all agreed. It is not merely that which divides us the least, as Thiers said of the French Republic ; it is really that which binds us together the most. It is the source of such unity as we possess. The average layman, with no theological training, he who makes up the great majority of the faithful, looks upon the Prayer Book as the palladium of his religion. He would resist as sacrilege any attempt to retouch it.

This view of the Prayer Book has lately been put before us very forcibly by a professor in an institution not often credited with great attachment to Establishments.

> The Prayer Book is not a creed nor a battle-cry, and it provokes the spirit of devotion rather than that of debate ; it is religion and not theology. To it the Anglican Church owes the hold she retains on the English people. They are not attracted merely by the fact that the Church is established by law ; it may be doubted whether her catholicity allures the bulk of the laity, and assuredly her standard of preaching is not the force which keeps men from joining other com-

munions. But the Book of Common Prayer is unique, a κτῆμα ἐς ἀεί. Amid the fierce contentions of the churches it gave the Church of England unity, strength, and a way to the hearts of men such as no other church could boast. [1]

Secondly, if it were desirable to make changes in the Prayer Book, who is there among us able to undertake such a burden? Who is there qualified to revise the prayers and collects, or rearrange the order of services? No doubt much attention has been paid of late years to the study of liturgies, and there are probably at this moment in England more students of liturgies than it has ever seen before. But this does not of necessity qualify our age to undertake the revision of a liturgy. Knowledge does not of itself confer taste or judgment. Knowledge may indeed save us from making some of the prodigious errors which our authorities have made in our time: from appointing a chapter of the Apocalypse as the liturgical gospel; from the destruction of the Divine service wrought by the Shortened Services Act; from revision of the rubrics in the sense of the Convocation Book; and the like experiments of our age. But knowledge of liturgies will not always tell us how to revise liturgies. We have seen what has been done to our churches in the way of restoration or revision. Irretrievable damage has been done in the name of Mr. Street or Mr. Butterfield, and all with the best intentions. The same excruciating experiments will be repeated with the Prayer Book; and when all is ruined we shall begin to see what we have lost and what a mistake has been made.

This is not the age in which the Prayer Book may be retouched. No doubt our time is excellent in the natural sciences, in engineering of all sorts, such as railway making, tunnelling, bridge-making; it can "annihilate both time and space"; but in the finer arts of life it is wanting. Its record in literature will be that of journal-

[1] Albert Frederick Pollard, *Thomas Cranmer and the English Reformation*. Putnam, 1904, p. 223. End of Chap. vii.

ism : clumsy, crude, unpolished, full of faults that its haste does not permit it to perceive.

It is a note of our age that it is always in a hurry. It is even considered a virtue, a thing one aims at and is proud of, not to have a moment that one can call one's own ; never to have any time for reflection or meditation, or an hour in which one can possess one's soul. If such a spirit of haste be allowed to enter into our services, we may be sure that all devotion will be at an end. This fatal desire to save time has brought us the mutilations of the Shortened Services Act, or, if the services be not mutilated, it has caused a rapidity of recitation which is a complete bar to the edification of those that come to church. Dr. Gore, the Bishop of Birmingham, is not a writer who is given to over much blaming of the methods of the nineteenth century ; yet he sees the dangers of its hasty ways. " Everything in our modern life, in our age of advertisement and journalism, tends to make us prefer publicity to depth, *speed to thoroughness*, numbers to reality ; and to give way to that tendency is to give way to death." [1] It is this desire to save time, to be getting on, even in our most sacred occupations, which has led directly to the liturgical anarchy which every true friend of the Church of England deplores, and would remedy rather than extend. In 1896 Dr. Gore called for a return to discipline, though it may be feared that his words have been impaired in value by his leadership of the forces of indiscipline in 1904, and he hinted that it might be necessary to tighten the bands of discipline by a new law :

> The time is surely come when excrescences weakening to the life of the whole body need to be pared off by the exercise of a moderate but impartial discipline. Every now and then, when hopes are stirred by the deep evidences of a recovering unity amongst us and a fuller sense of corporate life, our hopes are chilled by some utterance or act of what looks like de-

[1] Sermon preached before the University of Cambridge upon Quinquagesima, *Guardian*, 1896, p. 271, last three lines of col. iii.

liberate lawlessness, deliberate repudiation of principles binding on us all, on which very often no corporate or authoritative judgment, in utterance or act, is allowed to fall."

Anything like a Coercion Act we should indeed grieve to see necessary; and our sorrow would be the greater because we believe that the remedy is still in the hands of the clergy themselves. The great majority are still true to the principles and order of the Church of England, and we feel sure that they could, by putting out their influence, restrain the lawless and the foolish. Let the clergy agree among themselves that they will see the plain directions and rubrics of the Book of Common Prayer impartially kept; and if this were only understood to be the general intention of the great body of the clergy, the number of those who wilfully disregard all rules but their own pleasure ought soon to be reduced to a *quantité négligeable*. It would very greatly discourage these lawless and foolish ones if they could no longer appeal to the Act which has encouraged their sloth and indevotion. The repeal of the Shortened Services Act would be a notification that the source and original of the clippings, mutilations, and excisions now practised upon the services of the Book of Common Prayer had been taken away, and that the state of anarchy created by this Act was no longer recognized.[1] Churchmen would welcome warmly a repeal of the schedule of the Act of Uniformity Amendment Act, the mischievous schedule which has set up among us those eviscerated services which are so little credit to the piety, the learning, or the liturgical instincts of the nineteenth century synods of the Church of England.

[1] To show what radical changes in the Sunday service may be carried out under the cover of this Act, it may be mentioned that it has been proposed to get rid of the recitation of the Athanasian Creed by allowing a hurried Mattins to be said full early on the great festivals before the usual Sunday congregation assemble; and then at 11 to allow a mutilated Mattins to be sung, in accordance with the Shortened Services Act. Thus the abolition of the Athanasian Creed is to be compassed, not by Church and State acting together, but by a side wind of autocratic Episcopal authority.

Mediæval Ceremonial

Mediæval Ceremonial

[Note.—The plates referred to in this paper are those contained in Mr. W. H. St. John Hope's *English Altars*.]

In 1899 we were asked by a speaker at the Church Congress held in London why we were so inconsistent as to object to mediæval ceremonies taking place in churches which are now, in accordance with the prevailing fashion, all built in the mediæval manner? Surely, it is said, if the building be mediæval that which is done in the building should be mediæval too. For argument's sake let us accept this method of reasoning and see to what it will lead us. It may be that those who ask for mediæval ceremonies in mediæval buildings have no very clear idea of what mediæval ceremonies were. It may be that what they claim as mediæval may bear no nearer relation to that which history declares to be mediæval than rococo ornaments do to the mouldings of Westminster Abbey. The word "mediæval" is often used to express mere like or dislike. By it some mean what is in their eyes perfect or almost divine; with others it is synonymous with what is weak-minded and contemptible. Its meaning depends greatly upon the value given it by him who uses the word. To define our terms: if people really mean what they say when they ask for mediæval services, it is that they want the services or ceremonies that were in use between A.D. 800 and A.D. 1500, though some elasticity is demanded by certain historians as to the end of the period: some place the end of the middle ages at 1450 abroad, while others set it in England much later than 1500. Whatever view be taken it will be seen that the word "mediæval" covers a very wide area of time.

A group of books published in one year, that of 1899, may help us to answer the question: What is mediæval

ceremonial? They all appeared within a very few months of one another, yet apparently without any intention of coincidence on the part of the authors. But they have similar and important lessons to give to those willing to learn what mediæval services and ceremonies really were.

We may take first Mr. St. John Hope's *English Altars*, published at the expense of the Alcuin Club. Both the Alcuin Club and Mr. St. John Hope may be congratulated on this beautiful collection of photographic reproductions of English altars. We may be especially grateful for two representations of altars of considerable interest, which have not been reproduced before by photography. One is the altar of St. Augustine's, Canterbury, from the manuscript at Trinity Hall, only known to the world at large by a somewhat imperfect plate in Dugdale; the other is the altar at Westminster in the Islip Roll, of which the Society of Antiquaries some hundred years ago produced a good and careful drawing, but still not to be set in the same line for accuracy with the results given to us to-day by photography. The other altars shown in the series have not, indeed, the historic importance of these two; but the remainder form a series which begins in the tenth century and ends in the sixteenth, showing us the English altar through the greater part of the mediæval period.

Such a series is simply invaluable to the student of mediæval ceremonial. No doubt it will astonish, if not shock, those who are accustomed to the altars of a later date. It will destroy a number of idols cherished in our day, a work, it was understood at the time of its formation, which was to be the special function of the Alcuin Club.

As we look through the plates of the Alcuin Club, the first thing that strikes us is the extreme unlikeness of the altars to those that we are accustomed to see, not merely in churches with an "advanced ritual," but in churches which aim at moderate Anglicanism. In fact they remind us a good deal of the altars that were to be ordin-

arily seen about the year 1850, and which we were then taught to look upon with horror. We have only to take up an early volume of the *Ecclesiologist* to find that many things there condemned have a good deal of authority from the middle ages. The men of the Cambridge Camden Society were in truth pioneers in their subject. They cannot be blamed because they did not know all that we know after many more years of study. We can very readily sympathize with them in their position; for they were called upon to act before they had thoroughly grasped the details of the principles upon which they were acting, and thus of necessity they made mistakes, and serious ones too. They seem to have thought that whatever they found existing in the Church of England about 1840 must be modern, while whatever they found on the Continent must be ancient. Now we know that the contrary is often really the case. What the early ecclesiologists found and destroyed was usually some ancient or mediæval custom, that had come down at least three hundred years, from a time before the days of Edward VI.; while the continental practices which they brought in to replace the old English things were less than two hundred years old. Now, too, the mid-Victorian idea that whatever is foreign and modern is better than what is old and English is, happily, not so prevalent.

Most of the things with which the early ecclesiologists adorned their altars are not to be found in the photographs of the Alcuin Club. Absolutely there are no vases of flowers on the altars from the first to the last of the series; nor candlesticks of any sort. Even at the obit of Abbot Islip of Westminster, where there is a profusion of candles on the hearse, there is not one candlestick on the high altar; nor the thing that the early ecclesiologists were so anxious to put on the altar to support the candlesticks, and that they called the superaltar: a name which showed how little they really knew; for the English superaltar is the small square hallowed stone on which, set upon an unhallowed altar, the ele-

ments for the Eucharist were consecrated ; nowadays the shelf for the candlesticks is called by its foreign name *gradin*, to show its foreign origin. Nor in the middle ages were there seven lamps burning before the altar, a practice that has become so fashionable within the last forty years. In the few cases where a lamp is seen, there is only one (Pl. II. 3, IV. 2, V. 1), and that probably was only lighted during service time. Let it not horrify any one that where the pyx is shown (Pl. X. 1, XIII.) there is no lamp alight before it.[1] It need not be said that there is no instance of a locker on the altar in which the Holy Sacrament was kept, called by the moderns a tabernacle ; nor altar cards.

Another thing that would have vexed the early ecclesiologists, one may be sure, is the mediæval arrangement of the altar frontal. One of the first things that these good souls did was to get rid of the frontal in many folds : that was most " incorrect," and a stretched embroidered altar-cloth was invariably put in its place. The earliest altar-cloths (Pl. I. 2, II. 3) seem to be mere cloths, whether of silk or linen, just thrown over the altar itself and hanging to the ground. Very soon the frontlet appears, the over-frontal (Pl. II. 2), where the frontal hangs in vertical folds connected by festoons. This arrangement may be seen in Plates III. and IV. ; and Plate V. shows altar-cloths in festoons without any definite arrangement. Later on we have altar-cloths in pleats, like a lady's modern dressing-table (Pl. VII. 2 and 3). These are of the fourteenth century, while on the same plate (No. 5) and of much the same date, there is the first instance of a frontal without folds or pleats, and looking like the modern stretched frontal. The frontal in pleats occurs again in Plate XII. in a drawing of the end of the fifteenth century ; and this appearance may be somewhat indistinctly made out in the altars of West-

[1] There is evidence that in Italy, as late as the sixteenth century, the Eucharist was often reserved without light. (See *Tracts on the Mass*, Henry Bradshaw Society, 1904, p. 215, § De lumine coram Sacramento.)

PLATE I] [*To face p.* 31

AN EARLY MEDIAEVAL ALTAR,

Showing the pleating of the frontal, the chalice, corporal, paten, and corporas case on the altar; but no gradin, lights, or cross.

(British Museum 6. E. vi. fo. 246. *b.*)

minster of 1532 shown in Plates XIII. and XIV. The pleating of the altar frontal is plainly shown in Abbot Lytlington's Mass-Book at Westminster, which is of the fourteenth century. Two of these frontals have been reproduced in collotype in the edition of the Westminster Missal.[1]

The practice of leaving the altar bare has but small countenance from the middle ages. Even the early ecclesiologists did not attempt this; and it was not until we began the practice of making expeditions into France and Belgium[2] that bare altars were seen to any extent in England. In these countries it may very likely be that to this their poverty and not their will consents. A frontal, of the colour of the Mass, is ordered in the Roman Missal of to-day[3]; it is an instance of the way in which the rubrics of the Roman Missal are disobeyed; which ought not to be surprising to those who are accustomed to see the plainest directions of the Book of Common Prayer set aside. The custom of hiding the altar from sight by a veil may be said to be almost universal in the Church; and at a time when so much is said of the importance of following œcumenical custom it is a little surprising that some Deans and Chapters should allow themselves to be parties to the breaking of the Church law, merely to fall in with the views of Italianizing architects.

It has sometimes been said that the cross in the middle ages, carried in procession or on the altar, was never without the figure of the Crucified. The statement is negatived by the crosses shown in *English Altars*. Altar crosses without figures are abundant. (Pl. I. 1, 2, II. 2, III. 2, IV. 2, V. 2, 4, IX., X. 2.) Still, crucifixes are also seen. (V. 1, VII. 3, 4, VIII. 4, X. 4, XIII. XIV.)

[1] *Missale ad Usum Ecclesie Westmonasteriensis* (Henry Bradshaw Society, 1891). Fasc. I. plates 1 and 4. See plate 1 of this book.

[2] Even in Belgium bare altars seem to be quite modern. "L'antependium aux couleurs liturgiques persista, dans la Belgique, jusqu'à une époque récente." (*Revue de l'Art chrétien*, 1886, 3e série, t. iv. p. 459 note.)

[3] *Missale Romanum*, Rubricæ generales, xx. (Mechliniae, 1874.)

Riddells, which have lately come much into use among us, do not appear early in the series. The first is of the early fifteenth century. (Pl. VIII. 2.) Once it seemed a reasonable theory that the riddells and the dossal were directly descended from the curtains of the ciborium of the basilica; but their late appearance in English pictures tells rather against the idea that they are descended continuously from altar curtains in pre-Norman England; they may have been imported from abroad in the fifteenth century, or a little earlier.

The mention of the dossal brings us to the mediæval reredos. The early altars do not show any, and the reredos begins early in the fifteenth century and continues to the end of the period. The reredos is not higher than would be sufficient to conceal completely the head of the tallest priest at the altar. This supports the opinion that the reredos and dossal are both really the same: that is, part of the curtains which formerly surrounded the altar, and from the offertory to the communion shrouded the priest from sight.[1]

In Theodore's Penitential, steps before the altar are forbidden,[2] doubtless with reference to Exodus[3]; and Durandus refers to the same prohibition.[4] In this series of altars we may note that the altar is but rarely raised on more than one step; sometimes it stands without any. There is in one case a flight of seven steps. (Plate VIII. 4.) But the great altar at Westminster is (Plate XIII.) raised only on two (Mr. Hope says three) steps; the celebrant would have only two steps to go up when he approached the altar. Mr. Comper[5] points out that it is the tradition of the English churches not to have many steps

[1] See the late Mr. G. G. Scott's *Essay on the History of Church Architecture*, London, 1881, p. 14, note e.

[2] II. i. 6: Gradus non debemus facere ante altare. (Haddan and Stubbs, *Councils*, Oxford, 1871, iii. 191.)

[3] Exodus xx. 26.

[4] *Rationale Divinorum Officiorum*, 1. ii. 3. (Neapoli, 1859, p. 20.)

[5] J. N. Comper, *The English Altar and its Surroundings*, in *Some Principles and Services of the Prayer Book*. Rivingtons, 1899, p. 112.

up to the altar; even in entering the chancel there may be a step down to a lower level. This arrangement followed upon the importance attached in mediæval England to the low sill of the East window.

All this we have to make out for ourselves. The Alcuin Club does not draw these lessons, which lie on the surface; but it promises a work hereafter in which this will be done. In the meantime, while waiting for this tract, there came most opportunely an essay by Mr. J. N. Comper, the well-known architect, which precisely filled up the gap. By a different path Mr. Comper arrived at results which completely accord with the lessons that we have found in the plates of the Alcuin Club. He tells us of the necessity of the frontal, of the low reredos or dossal, of taking away from the altar the gradin, the vases of flowers, the six candles, the tabernacle, and other modern disfigurements, if we are to return to anything like mediæval practice. He tells us (and here he has our English churches built in the middle ages with him) how opposed to precedents it is to wall up the east window in an old church, or raise a reredos in a new church so that the east window becomes diminutive or even disappears altogether. No one who has paid much attention to our old parish churches, before they were "restored," will deny that in the vast majority of cases the sill of the east window comes down close to the altar. Now this is the key of the mediæval position. If the sill of the east window be only a foot or two from the altar, it follows that there can be no high reredos or dossal; from this again it follows that the ornaments necessary for the ceremonial of the altar must be kept low. They must be only so high as just to reach the top of the reredos or dossal. "To make them large," says Mr. Comper, "destroys the scale of the church"[1] Be it also remembered that out of Mass no candlesticks were left on the altar; the frontal, frontlets, and sometimes the

[1] J. N. Comper, *op. cit.* p. 92.

linen remained, but the two candlesticks were taken away. In our country we know this practice remained in certain cathedral churches until our own time. The candles were placed on the altar only at the time of the celebration of the Eucharist or when they were lighted. It was the same at Lyons in France until the middle of the eighteenth century.[1] As Mr. Comper justly remarks, "they were there as part of the ceremonial, rather than as forming the decoration of the altar."[2] The candlesticks were taken away just as the book or the chalice was taken away.

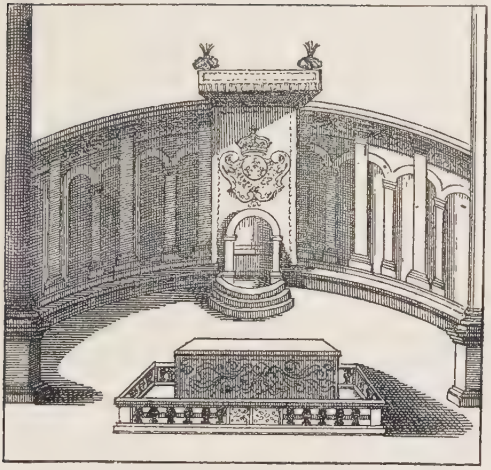
Mr. Everard Green, Rouge Dragon, noticed in Spain in 1903, the survival of the custom of taking away the altar cross and candlesticks and the linen from the altar as soon as service was over. He has been kind enough to allow the following notes to be printed, and to lend a photograph of the Church of St. Paul at Saragossa, showing the denuded altar. (See plate III. of this book.)

> When at Saragossa in Spain this Lent, I noticed after Divine Service, in the two cathedral churches of *La Seo* and *El Pilar* as well as in the collegiate church of *San Pablo*, that the altar cross and candlesticks with tapers (two only in number), as well as the altar linen, were all removed from these high altars, which, in consequence, were left bare of all ornaments, the frontals or *antependiums* (of the proper liturgical colour of the office of the day) being alone left.
>
> These high altars had no gradines, and the silver altar cross and two silver candlesticks were placed on the altar linen, and were of very moderate height, as were the two tapers

[1] Morel de Voleine, *De l'Influence de la Liturgie catholique sur l'Architecture*, Lyons, 1861, p. 15: "L'autel était une table rase et sans autres ornements que ses parements d'étoffes. Ce ne fut qu'en 1746, que l'on prit l'habitude d'y laisser les chandeliers et la croix, qu'auparavant on mettait pour la messe et que l'on ôtait ensuite." (For a view of the High Altar at Lyons before 1718, see plate II. of this book.) It had only one step; and the author complains of the theatrical number of candles recently introduced; of which he says: "Il est possible que cette illumination attire des curieux, mais à coup sûr elle est fort opposée à l'ancien esprit liturgique de la Primatiale, si grave, si opposé aux petits procédés mis en usage pour produire de l'effet."

[2] J. N. Comper, *op. cit.* p. 93.

PLATE II] [*To face p.* 34



HIGH ALTAR OF THE PRIMATIAL CHURCH AT LYONS.

From [Lebrun des Marettes] *Voyages Liturgiques de France, . . . par le Sieur de Moleon*, Paris, 1718.

See note 1 on p. 34 of this work. It was only after 1746 that the practice began of leaving the cross and candlesticks on the altar out of service time.

Note the Royal Arms of France over the Archbishop's throne.

THE ALTAR OF THE CHURCH OF ST. PAUL, SARAGOSSA, IN 1903.

From a photograph kindly lent by Mr. Everard Green.

The cross, candlesticks and altar linen, are removed out of service time.

which were of use to the celebrant singing High Mass from the altar missal.

On festivals, as the Annunciation, St. Joseph, etc., movable wooden gradines, faced with silver, were placed on the altar for reliquaries, and church plate of all descriptions, but the altar cross and candlesticks (seven or six for great feasts, four for ordinary Sundays, and two in Lent, even for high mass) were placed on the altar linen, and frequently when only two candlesticks were on the altar, instead of being placed at the back of the altar, they were placed at each end in front, so as to be of more use.

Flowers, real or counterfeit, seem to be unknown on these high altars, and Spanish altar cards are reduced to a very small scale. The centre one generally has only the words of Institution and the prayer immediately preceding them, and as the altar cross is on the altar and just before the eyes of the priest, is not fussy with a picture of the Crucifixion, and the silly custom of putting the altar card with the last Gospel of St. John, when it is not said, is unknown in most of the great churches of Spain, and where this is the custom the *Lavabo* card is merely held before the priest as he washes his fingers, and not placed on the altar. At times however two book-stands are placed on the altar, and where this is the rule, the last Gospel of St. John, and the Psalm Lavabo, are often engraved on the missal book-stands.

At Gerona and Granada I noticed all through Lent the white Lenten Veil, but at Seville and Toledo it is only seen in Passiontide.

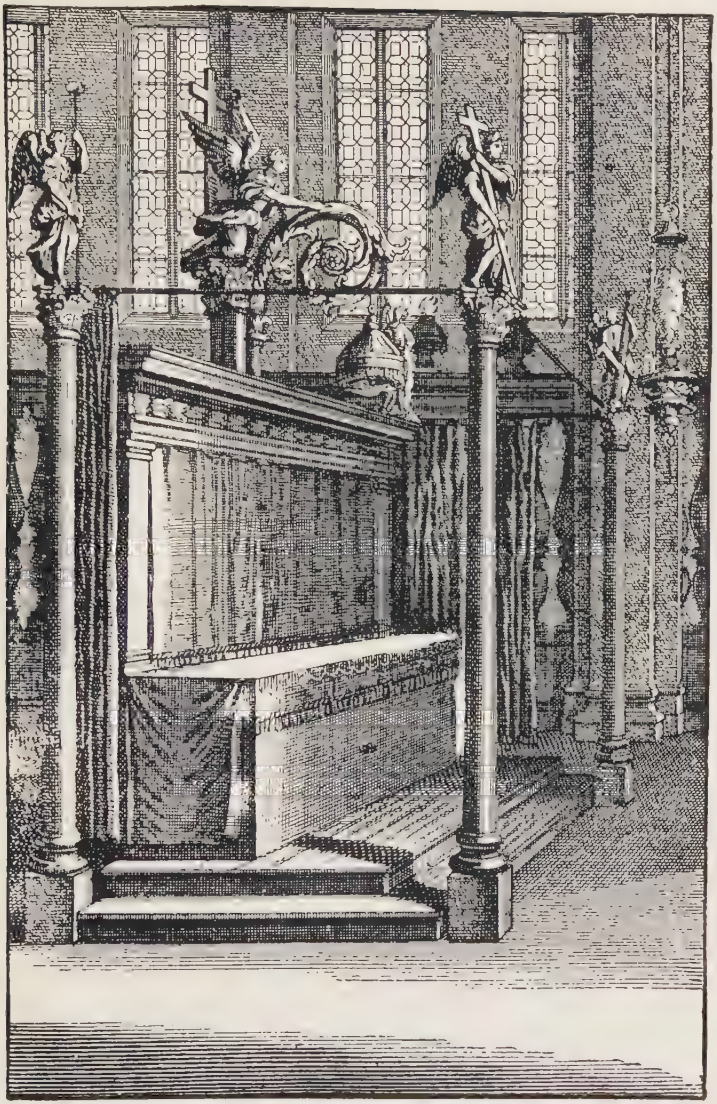
Mr. Everard Green, it will be noticed, writes as a Roman Catholic.

The Alcuin Club gives us no help in telling the number of lights set upon the altar in the middle ages, for the good reason that not one of the plates in its book shows a candlestick on the altar. Until late in the middle ages the lights were not as a rule set on the altar, but a candle was held in the hand of the clerk. But Mr. Comper is able to help us in the number of lights; and so, too, does Mr. Cuthbert Atchley in an essay printed with Mr. Comper's in the volume just noticed. Both Mr. Com-

per and Mr. Atchley (whose exhaustive researches into the ceremonial use of lights in the middle ages compel admiration) agree that no more than two lights were set on the altar for Mass. There were others, sometimes, around the altar, according to the size and wealth of the church, but on the altar there were not more than two. The ceremonialists of a few years ago made a great mistake in introducing the custom of placing six lights on the altar (or rather on the gradin[1]); it is a mistake, whether looked at from a legal, or historical, or politic, or æsthetic point of view. If we are to return to mediæval ceremonial the six lights on the altar must be the first things to be laid aside, together with the seven lamps.

It is exceedingly interesting to follow Mr. Comper with his proof that mediæval customs lasted on long after the decadence of the Renaissance. He gives a drawing of an altar from the *Cæremoniale Parisiense* of 1703, where every mediæval feature is retained though clothed in classical form; and, what is very noteworthy, even the classical form fails to take from the altar its dignity and simplicity. But at the end of the last century we see the degradation to which rococo taste can lead in the copperplate prefixed to the edition in 1777 of Le Brun's *Explication*, which, for some unknown reason, Dr. Rock reproduced in his *Hierurgia* in 1833. He took away even the solitary mediæval ornament that remained in Le Brun, the antependium. If Sir Thomas More could be brought back to life he would hardly recognize Dr. Rock's altar as Christian; it would certainly not be like those at which he was accustomed to worship. The surroundings of an old unrestored altar of 1830 would be to him

[1] There is a curious legend, met with more especially amongst bishops and archdeacons, that the Privy Council has forbidden the setting of the candlesticks directly on the altar without the intervention of a shelf. In the Report, however, of the Committee of the Alcuin Club against the lawfulness of the gradin they mention the opinion of Sir Walter Phillimore, which it may be hoped will finally lay the ghost to rest. He says: "No Court has decided that it is illegal to put candlesticks directly on the *mensa*" (*Alcuin Club Tracts*, i. 64.)



ALTAR FROM CÆREMONIALE PARISIENSE, 1703.

Note the retention of the riddells, dossal, and altar frontal, the four pillars around the altar the hanging pix ; only two steps, only one lamp, no candlesticks or cross on altar.

more familiar than the overdone furniture that we too often see in a modern church.

Leaving the efforts of the Alcuin Club and of Mr. Comper to recall us to the law of the Church of England that the chancels shall remain as they have done in times past, not as in the times of rococo ornamentation, we may ask what services did the people attend in the middle ages? Did they have "devotions"? or did they follow the beaten track of the Church in Psalter and Eucharist? No one who has paid any attention to the life of the English people in the middle ages can doubt that the Psalter took up the greater part of their public worship. Mattins, Mass, and Evensong were the duty of every Sunday and holiday. To quote one mediæval author, Piers the Plowman; speaking of the business of each class, he says:

> 'Lewd [*i.e.* lay] men to labour; and lords to hunt,
>
> . . . . . .
>
> And upon Sundays to cease; God's service to hear
> Both mattins and mass; and after meat, in churches
> To hear evensong; every man ought.'

And of holidays, he says:

> Each holiday to hear wholly the service.[1]

In an old English play, believed to have been written about the year 1475 (lately edited by Mr. Alfred W. Pollard), *Nowadays* tries to lead *Mankind* astray and says to him:

> On Sundays, on the morrow, erly be tyme,
> Ye xall with ws to the alle-house erly, to go dyne,
> A[nd] for-ber masse and matens, owres and prime.[2]

[1] *The Vision of William concerning Piers the Plowman* (ed. W. W. Skeat), Oxford, 1886, i. 240, C. text. Passus X. lines 223–31.

[2] *Mankind*, in the *Macro Plays*, Early English Text Society, 1904, p. 26. This is fresh evidence besides what has been offered elsewhere that the whole parish was accustomed to hear prime, and that no new departure was made in 1549 in the matter of *Quicunque vult*. Yet doubtless when the next attack

For *Mankind* it was the most natural thing in the world when he wanted to say his prayers to turn to the Divine Service :

> I wyll here my ewynsonge here or I dysseuer.

And Titivillus, the devil, is pleased to interrupt him :

> Mankynde was besy in hys prayere, yet I dyde hym aryse;
> He is conveyde (be Cryst!) from hys dyvyn seruyce.[1]

And it must have been held to be a duty as late as the times of Queen Mary ; for a Protestant writer could say that the clergy taught that the first of deadly sins was "losing of mass, mattins, and evensong," [2] while drunkenness was only venial.

If, then, we are to return to mediæval services we must every Sunday hear wholly the Mass, Mattins, and Evensong, and the procession, which we now call Litany. It would be no mediæval practice to thrust Mattins and Litany into a corner ; "mattins, evensong, and Mass" were "goodly sung with pricksong and organs" [3] ; the mere hearing of a Mass said in twenty minutes or half an hour would have seemed to the mediæval mind a most inadequate performance of Sunday duty. And the popular prayers, the Hours of our Lady, and the like, all took the form of the Divine Service, Psalms and Lessons. There seems no authority from the middle ages for getting through Mattins and Litany in a hurry on Sun-

is made upon the Athanasian Creed, the same old disproved arguments will be brought forward without any regard to the facts of the case. Liberal churchmen are as bigoted and hard to teach as any other kind of man.

[1] See *Mankind*, pp. 20 and 21.

[2] "*A dialogue or familiar talke betwene two neighbours, concernyng the chyefest ceremonyes*, &c. From Roane, by Michael Wodde, the XX. of February Anno Domini M.D.LIIII." Sheet B. iiii. *b*. The tract is said to be rare. Its shelf-mark in the British Museum is C. 25. c. 26.

[3] See *A dialogue*, &c., Sheet D. i. *b*. By the Puritan organs were as much disliked as anything. Edward VI.'s commissioners destroyed them as monuments of idolatry and superstition ; and our Puritan Oliver in the tract quoted above, after Nicholas has told him of the goodly singing with organs, says : "Ye pipe him a dance on the organs."

day morning with hardly any congregation; and then calling the people together for "solemn celebration" after a perfunctory performance of the Divine Service. The Mass and Divine Service seem to have been required of the parishioner both in the same degree.[1] The discouragement in our own times of attendance by laymen on Divine Service has made some persons think that such attendance was not enforced in the middle ages. *Quicunque vult* was thus unknown to the laity, and the Church of England made a new departure in 1549 by causing *Quicunque vult* to be recited with Mattins of Edward VI.'s first book. If it were the custom of the layman "to hear wholly the service," he must have been acquainted with *Quicunque vult*, and thus the recitation of *Quicunque vult* before him was no new departure.

Nor will there be found in the middle ages much authority for what may be called exact ceremonial, a ceremonial in which every trifling position of fingers or hands is prescribed with the utmost minuteness. In Dr. Lippe's reprint of an early Roman Missal,[2] the first edition known to us, such directions are really con-

[1] This tradition persisted long among the English Roman Catholics. In *A Manual of Godly Prayers and Litanies*, published at Rouen in 1614 by C. Hamilton, at p. 146, under "a table of sinnes to help the ignorant or ill of memory; wherein, when they would be confessed, they may finde out with little labour the manifold waies of offending God," we find the question: Omitted to say my Mattins, Evensong or other devotions. This continues in the *Manual of Devout Prayers*, by His Majesty's Command, Lond. Henry Hills, 1688, p. 141. It has, however, disappeared in the edition of 1733. It may be quite the ultramontane modern idea to neglect the Divine Service for the rosary, benediction, and other devotions; but the older English Roman Catholics knew better than this. What a handbook of devotion the breviary was the following passage from one of Charles II.'s letters will show. He is speaking of his wife, Queen Catherine of Braganza: "She is not only content to say the greate office in the breviere every day, but likewise that of our Lady too, and this is besides going to chapell," (Osmund Airy, *Charles II.* Longmans, 1904, chap. iii. p. 207.) How much better would it be if we could persuade the churchmen of our time to make the Divine Service in the Prayer Book their handbook for a really solid devotion, rather than the emasculated offices in the little books, too often taken direct from foreign sources.

[2] *Missale Romanum*, Mediolani, 1474, edited by Robert Lippe, LL.D., for the Henry Bradshaw Society, 1899.

spicuous by their absence to those accustomed to the rules given in the Roman Missal of to-day. In the Ordinary of the Mass of 1474 the rubrics are as "meagre" as those of the Book of Common Prayer; and before the Ordinary there is just a page of general rubrics of no use at all to those in search of exactness. Very likely during the middle ages there was little of such exactness; we may see something of it among the early Dominicans; but a certain German, John Burckard, of Strassburg, held a high place in the papal court under Alexander VI., and Burckard brought out, in 1502, a book called *Ordo Missae*, in the preface of which he complains how "incorrect" many priests were in saying Mass, and that he thought it unworthy of the Roman Church, the mother and mistress of all others, not to set out a certain method of saying Mass to be followed by all. He therefore published his book, with a recommendatory letter from Alexander VI.[1] These directions evidently became popular; later they appeared printed in Roman Mass books, and in the reform of Pius V. in 1570, their substance was definitely prefixed to the Missal as the *Ritus servandus*.

How different this humanist or post-mediæval mind of Burckard's was from that of the early middle age Mr. Edmund Bishop's tract plainly shows.[2] This was read as a paper before a society which enjoyed Cardinal Vaughan's protection, so that its freedom from any taint of Anglicanism may be guaranteed. And yet Mr. Bishop's results must come as an astonishment to many

[1] Burckard does not seem to have enjoyed the best reputation among his contemporaries. Paride de Grassi gives him this short character: *Fuit supra omnes bestias bestialissimus, inhumanissimus, invidiosissimus.* (Mariano Armellini, *Il diario di Leone X. di Paride de Grassi*, Roma, 1884, notes, p. 96.) The early Dominican ceremonial as well as John Burckard's *Ordo missae* are printed in *Tracts on the Mass*, Henry Bradshaw Society, 1904.

[2] Edmund Bishop, *The Genius of the Roman Rite, being a paper read at the Meeting of the Historical Research Society at Archbishop's House, Westminster, on May 8th*, 1899. Second Edition, F. E. Robinson, 1902. This tract is now included in *Essays on Ceremonial*, the fourth volume in the Library of Liturgiology and Ecclesiology for English Readers (De La More Press, 1904).

who have not made a study of *Ordo Romanus I.* and kindred documents.[1] Mr. Bishop tells us that the character of the ceremonial of the native Roman rite was extreme simplicity, and this character is retained during the early part of the middle ages. We see this simplicity when Mr. Bishop has stripped off the accretions of the later middle ages, which came from across the Alps. Such are the *Asperges*, *Confiteor*, *Iudica*, and all the prayers said by the priest until he ascend to the altar; these are "all non-Roman and of comparatively late introduction" (p. 13). So also "the whole of the prayers accompanying the acts of the offertory and the censing of the altar" (p. 13); in fact, all from the Gospel up to the *Secreta* are "of late mediæval introduction." In like manner, "the three prayers said before the Communion, and all that follows the collect called the 'Post-Communion' (except *Ite missa est*) are again late, and all borrowed." (p. 14.) Mr. Bishop thinks *Gloria in excelsis* may have come into the Roman Mass in the sixth century, the Creed in the eleventh, *Agnus Dei* at the end of the seventh, while the anthems at the Introit, between the Epistle and Gospel, at the Offertory and Communion are not of Roman origin, but were adopted by Rome as soon as they arose elsewhere and began to spread.

What, then, is left to us of the pure Roman rite as it existed in the early middle ages? We may see by the following table which has been constructed from Mr. Bishop's tract. The elements of the pure Roman rite are printed in Clarendon type, while the accretions are in different type; the late additions being in ordinary Roman type; and the early musical additions in Italic capitals.

[1] The reader may be reminded of a valuable help to his studies in the early Roman liturgy and its ceremonies, which has lately appeared as the sixth volume of the Library of Liturgiology and Ecclesiology for English Readers. Mr. Cuthbert Atchley has edited and translated *Ordo Romanus Primus*, and the work is accompanied by important notes and excellent illustrations.

ORDER OF THE MODERN ROMAN MASS.

Asperges.

Iudica and Confiteor.

ANTHEM AT THE INTROIT.

Kyrie eleison. (*second half of fifth century.*)

Gloria in excelsis. (*sixth century.*)

COLLECT.

EPISTLE.

GRADUAL.

BLESSING BEFORE THE GOSPEL.

GOSPEL.

Creed. (*eleventh century?*)

ANTHEM AT THE OFFERTORY.

All the prayers and the psalm at the Offertory. (*twelfth century.*)

ORATE FRATRES.

SECRET COLLECT. (*super oblata.*)

PREFACE.

CANON.

LORD'S PRAYER.

PAX DOMINI SIT SEMPER VOBISCUM.

Agnus Dei. (*end of seventh century.*)

Prayers before Communion.

ANTHEM AT THE COMMUNION.

POST-COMMUNION COLLECT.

ITE MISSA EST.

All after *Ite missa est.* (*tenth century and later.*)

And the ceremonial seems to have been as simple as the rite.

> "In trying to figure to ourselves," says Mr. Bishop, "the true and unadulterated Roman ceremonial of the Mass, we must conceive ritual pomp as confined to two moments: first, the entry of the celebrant into the church and up to the altar; secondly, in connexion with the singing of the Gospel." (p. 17.)

Incense was used only at the two moments of entering the church and of singing the Gospel.

> All ideas of censing the altar, the elements for the sacrifice, or persons, are alien to the native Roman rite, and have been introduced into it from elsewhere in the course of centuries. (p. 17.)

Some more of Mr. Bishop's statements disturbing to the mind of a seminarist are that "the ceremonial parts of the old Roman Mass are over, just as the sacrifice is about to begin" (p. 18) and that, "what is considered most picturesque, or attractive, or devout, or effective—in a word, what is most interesting . . . what some people call the 'sensuousness of the Roman Catholic ritual,' form precisely that element in it which is not originally Roman at all." (p. 22.) These changes are traced by Mr. Bishop to the introduction, in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, of one single act: the elevation of the host and chalice about the time of consecration, an act which brought in its train great additions to the ceremonial, "lights and torches, censings, bell ringings, and genuflexions." (p. 16.) Before elevation came to be the custom, the Canon must have been recited in profound silence, broken only by *Nobis quoque*; the exact moment of consecration was not evident. Until the schoolmen determined that consecration ensued upon the priest reciting the words of institution, it was not reasonable to elevate the host and chalice at this place. In England the censings and genuflexions were long in making their way. Only two churches are known in which censing was practised at the elevation; and no printed English Missal has any rubric directing genuflexion at or after the consecration. No more has the Roman Missal of 1474. Apparently genuflexion only makes its definite appearance in the rubrics after the reform of 1570.[1]

[1] It is not an easy matter to find a pre-Pian edition of the Roman Missal, even with the resources of the British Museum at our disposal, that directs the celebrant to genuflect at or after the moment of consecration. Some of the Roman Missals printed at Paris before 1570 direct the priest to adore *cum mediocri inclinatione*, but not more.

It is likely enough that the demand for or condemnation of mediæval ceremonies is based upon a considerable misconception of their nature and character. Many of those who ask for or condemn mediæval services, think that mediæval ceremonial means an almost exact replica of the system pursued at the present moment at Farm Street or the Brompton Oratory.[1] The Church Association evidently thinks this. So do many of the public. A mediæval service, they say, must of necessity be of the nature of a pageant. And the Reformers of the sixteenth century, never too scrupulous, did their best to foster this idea. The changes brought about in divine worship on both sides, Catholic and Puritan, have not yet been properly realized.[2] The Protestants have exaggerated the sensuous character of the mediæval services; while the Papists have quietly assumed that the ceremonial all through the middle ages was exactly that to be found at the present time on the Continent. Mr. Edmund Bishop, whose prejudices, if he have any, would be on one side, tells us that the genius of the early mediæval Roman rite was "soberness and sense."[3] The modern extravagance in the use of flowers and candles, of theatrical music, the fussiness of modern ceremonial, are all opposed to soberness and sense. If we are to return to mediæval services there will have to be a radical change made in the ceremonial adjuncts introduced within the last twenty or thirty years. At the present moment it

[1] If we attend the services at a church where "full Sarum Ritual" is promised, we usually find nothing but the ordinary Roman ceremonial grafted on to the service in the Book of Common Prayer. All that we really know about the Sarum ceremonial is ignored. One simple test may be applied. If the chalice be mixed at the offertory we know the ceremonial cannot be Sarum.

[2] The Cornish rebels of Edward VI.'s time seem to have thought the First Prayer Book not sober enough as compared with the mediæval service. In their Eighth Article they say: "We will not receive the new service because it is but like a Christmas game, but we will have our old service of matins, mass, evensong, and procession in Latin, not in English, as it was before." (Nicholas Pocock, *Troubles connected with the Prayer Book of* 1549 Camden Society, 1884, p. 169.)

[3] Edm. Bishop, *op. cit.* p. 34.

is no longer authority or precedent [1] that dictates ceremonial. It is mere hedonism—what the parish will like best, or what will draw the largest congregations, or what will look prettiest. To use the words of Mr. Robert Bridges, speaking of another church practice: it would seem, if our ceremonial "is to stir the emotions of the vulgar, that it must itself be both vulgar and modern; and that, in the interest of the weaker mind, we must renounce all ancient tradition and the maxims of art, in order to be in touch with the music-halls." [2] There can be no doubt that to be in touch with the music-halls is the aim of a great deal of the ceremonial of the day.[3] The wish is to draw people to church; by what means, flower services, egg services, doll services, lantern services, or any other extravagance, does not very much matter; nor what they do when they are got to church.[4] The worship of Almighty God passes into the background.

The call, then, to a greater severity and simplification of our services is imperative. It is repeated by one who is not often considered to be desirous of moderating the enthusiasm of "ritualists." But Lord Halifax tells us that "the perfection of western ritual (i.e. ceremonial) was reached in the early middle ages," and that after the

[1] Some of the worst extravagances in ceremonial have arisen merely from copying what is done in a neighbour parish. An "advanced" church takes up some outlandish trick. Not to be behind the times, it is instantly adopted in another parish, but no one is able to give any reason from authority or precedent for what is done. Its source is imitation. One parish discards altar frontals, or puts lace on its altar linen, lights up seven lamps before the altar, or sets six candles on the altar. At once others begin the same, law or tradition on the subject being left quite ignored. The bishops take no heed of these things; as the idea of making the ornaments rubric an effective test does not seem to have yet established itself in the episcopal mind.

[2] *Journal of Theological Studies*, October, 1899, i. 48. The whole of Mr. Bridges' essay may be studied at the present day with great profit.

[3] About the year 1900 a congregation, protesting against some request of a bishop, complained of being deprived of the "enjoyment" of the use of incense!

[4] "Il n'importe que les tables de Jésus-Christ soient remplis d'abominations, pourvu que vos églises soient pleines de monde." (Blaise Pascal, *Les Provinciales*, Lettre 16; éd. Louandre, 1870, p. 313.)

thirteenth century it "degenerated into over elaboration."[1] We know the influence of Lord Halifax is very great indeed with a certain number of Churchmen whom the newspapers call "extremists." Let us hope that his authority with these friends of his will be sufficient to induce them to carry out this much needed return to a mediæval simplicity of ceremonial to which he himself specially invites them. The removal of the post-mediæval ornaments and ceremonies that have been lately introduced amongst us from abroad would also greatly strengthen the position of the Church. We could then appeal to the "plain law of the land" as set out in the directions that the Chancels shall remain as they have done in times past, and that such Ornaments shall be retained and be in use as were in this Church of England in a certain year. With the absolutely impregnable position which the Ornaments Rubric gives us, if loyally obeyed, we need never be ashamed when we speak with our enemies in the gate.

[1] *Guardian*, October 18, 1899, p. 1450, col. iii.

On Two Unusual Forms of Linen Vestments

PLATE V] [*To face p.* 49

A CHASUBLE-SHAPED SURPLICE, THE GREY AMES BEING THROWN OVER THE SHOULDER OF A CANON.

From C. Du Molinet, *Figures des différents habits des Chanoines reguliers*, Paris, 1666.

PLATE VI] [*To face p.* 48

A CHASUBLE-SHAPED SURPLICE OVER WHICH IS WORN THE GREY AMES, IN ITS EARLY FORM AND USE.

From C. Du Molinet, *Figures des différents habits des chanoines reguliers*, Paris, 1666.

On Two Unusual Forms of Linen Vestments

In the March of 1892, I found myself at Arles; and wandering up into the cloister on the south side of the church I found a sculptured figure of St. Stephen at the north-east corner where the two walks join. The sculpture is attributed to the beginning of the twelfth century.[1] St. Stephen is dressed in what I took at first for a chasuble. Deacons are not usually represented in chasubles, but in tunicles; but then we know that they wear chasubles during a good part of the year: as in Advent, from Septuagesima to Easter, on Vigils, and on Ember days. I was then on my way to Spain; and a few days after I came to Valentia; there the clerks wore a curious kind of linen vestment, shaped not unlike that of St. Stephen at Arles; it came down in front like a chasuble, pointed, the arms appearing on each side of the pointed part, but each arm carried long wings passing behind: behind, the vestment was cut square, not pointed as in front. It reminded me at once of some plates which may be seen in C. Du Molinet's *Figures des différents habits des chanoines réguliers*, published at Paris in 1666. Two are reproduced as Plate V. and Plate VI. of this work.

One of these is a canon regular of the cathedral church of Usez in France; another is a canon regular from Klosterneuburg in Austria; and a third, of a canon

[1] Viollet-le-Duc, *Dictionnaire raisonné de l'Architecture française*, Paris, Morel, 1868, t. iii. p. 417.

regular of the Holy Cross of Coimbra in Portugal. In all these three the canon wears a surplice shaped like a chasuble, over which the grey ames has been thrown, and by which therefore the under vestment is marked as a choir vestment. The Portuguese canon wears the grey ames around both shoulders, just as our bishops and canons wear their black scarf.[1] He has also a second garment under the chasuble-shaped surplice, which may very likely be a rochet.[1]

Du Molinet speaks in his preface of these surplices made like chasubles. He says that you may still see in some places a sort of surplice without sleeves, that is almost of the same form as the old chasubles in which they used in former times to say mass.[2] English advertisements and canons speak of the surplice as "with sleeves," but it may be that this is intended to forbid the parson to wear the rochet or surplice without sleeves,[3] of the parish clerk.

Looking further amongst the few books that I have, I found one or two more instances of drawings of this chasuble-shaped surplice. They were in books which the moderns would call *Rituale*, that is, a book containing

[1] Another figure of a canon from Du Molinet, wearing the grey ames in this fashion over both shoulders, is reproduced in the *Transactions of St. Paul's Ecclesiological Society*, vol. iii. p. 45.

[2] "On voit encor en quelques endroits un espece de Surplis sans manches, qui sont presque de la mesme forme que les anciens Chasubles, dont on se servoit en la celebration de la Sainte Messe." (preface, p. 6.)

[3] See the advertisements of 1566 (D. Wilkins, *Concilia*, Lond. 1737, vol. iv. p. 248) and the canons of 1603. (No. lviii.) They order a "comely Surplice with sleeves." This order may, however, allude to the one rochet of *Ut parochiani* (Lyndwode, *Provinciale*, lib. iii. Antwerp, 1525. fo. clxxii. *b*). The last edition of *Ut parochiani* that I know is by Bishop Bonner in 1554. (Edward Cardwell, *Documentary Annals of the Reformed Church of England*, Oxford, University Press, 1844, vol. i. p. 151.) And it is also enquired, in the diocese of Exeter, "2. Item Whether you have two faire and fitting Surplesses with sleeves for your Minister, and another without sleeves for your Clarke" and further on, "63. Item Is your Parish Clark of the age of twenty yeers at the least . . . and doth he usually weare his Surplesse or Rochet in the time of Divine Service." (*Articles to be enquired of within the Diocese of Exeter . . . anno Domini* 1638, London, printed by Thomas Harper, 1638.)

BAPTISM: THE CLERK WITH LIGHTED TAPER WEARS THE CHASUBLE-SHAPED SURPLICE.

N.B.—The ample Surplice of the priest.

BLESSING OF WATER: BOTH PRIEST AND CLERK WEAR CHASUBLE-SHAPED SURPLICES.

From *Liber Catechuinorum iuxta ritum sancte Romane ecclesie*, Venetiis, apud Petrum Bosellum. 1555.

UNIVERSITY

MASS, AT TIME OF COMMUNION: THE CLERK WITH TORCH WEARS THE CHASUBLE-SHAPED SURPLICE.

N.B.—No gradin, ample linen cloth, no cross on altar, only two lights.

VISITATION OF THE SICK: THE CLERK WEARS THE CHASUBLE-SHAPED SURPLICE.

From *Liber Catechuminorum iuxta ritum sancte Romane ecclesie*, Venetiis, apud Petrum Bosellum, 1555.

the forms for the administration of those sacraments not reserved to the bishop. These particular books came from the north of Italy, and were printed in the latter half of the sixteenth century and the beginning of the seventeenth.

The first I may name is *Liber Catechuminorum iuxta ritum sancte Romane ecclesie*, Venetiis, apud Petrum Bosellum, 1555. From this book I give four drawings. (See Plates VII. and VIII.).

There are also more of the same chasuble-shaped surplices to be found in a book with the title : *Ordo Baptizandi et alia sacramenta administrandi*, Venetiis, apud Iuntas, 1592. The priest wears this chasuble-shaped surplice at baptism (p. 7), the priest and clerks wear it at the giving of communion (p. 26), at the burial of the dead (p. 78), at the blessing of holy water (p. 139), in procession at Candlemas (p. 188), and here the surplice with sleeves is worn by the fellow of a clerk who wears the chasuble-shaped surplice ; and further on in the book the priest wears the latter while performing the ceremony of exorcism (p. 253).

A third book in which I have found drawings of this chasuble-shaped surplice is the *Rituale Ecclesiae Veronensis*, Veronae, typis Bartholomaei Merli à Donnis, 1609. I give two reproductions of the woodcuts in this book. They may be found on Plate IX.

This chasuble-shaped surplice may be seen very distinctly in one of the modern mosaics, probably of the seventeenth century, at St. Mark's, Venice. It is in a mosaic over one of the doorways on the right side of the church facing the piazza. The employment of colour makes it certain that we have to do with a linen, not a silken, vestment.

I have no doubt that if a full search could be made, a number of other instances would be found. Perhaps enough has been said to establish the existence of a linen vestment shaped like a chasuble in ages and places far removed from each other.

There is another form of linen vestment, if vestment it may be called, to which I would ask attention, not so much for its own sake, but because it is part of a ceremony which is an interesting survival of an ancient custom. The vestment is used by the old men who bring up bread and wine at the time of the offertory in the metropolitan church at Milan. These old men, and with them are old women, are called the school of St. Ambrose, a sort of guild, of the existence of which we are assured as early as the twelfth century.[1]

A writer on the Ambrosian Liturgy thus speaks of the guild and its duties : The women wear a dress of black wool, with a girdle and a white linen cap upon which they have a veil of black silk, and they cover the neck with another linen cloth in pleats. At the offertory the two old men on duty wear over the cotta a pointed hood which ends in a tassel, and the two old women a piece of fine black silk over the white veil on their heads ; both men and women have a large white linen cloth covering their shoulders, arms, and hands, and coming down to their knees. This linen cloth they call a *fanon*. With that each one holds three obleys and a silver cruet containing wine, for they must not touch the offerings with naked hands, but only with the fanon.[2] The fanon is 1 metre 20 cm. broad and 2 metres 60 cm. long : in English measures, about four feet by nine and a half. The upper of the long sides is sewn to its fellow, but so as to leave a space through which the head of the wearer can be passed, a sort of chasuble being thus produced, full behind, an appearance which disappears when the hands are joined in front, and the linen thus put on the stretch. (See the illustrations on Plates X. and XI.)

Mazzuchelli points out that the word fanon is used in this sense in *Ordo Romanus II.* The people are said at the offertory to bring their oblations, that is, bread and wine, with white fanons, first the men, then the

[1] Marco Magistretti, *Beroldus*, Mediolani, 1894, p. 52.
[2] *Osservazioni* di Pietro Mazzuchelli, Milano, 1828, p. 21.

PLATE IX] [*To face p.* 52

PROCESSION IN WHICH NEARLY ALL WEAR THE CHASUBLE-SHAPED SURPLICE.

COMMUNION IS BEING GIVEN BY A PRIEST IN CHASUBLE-SHAPED SURPLICE OVER WHICH IS A STOLE.

N.B.—Clerk following with a cup of wine and water. Communion apparently given from a square box. No candles on altar, but on brackets at ends.

From *Rituale Ecclesiae Veronensis*, Veronae, 1609.

OLD MEN OF THE SCHOOL OF SAINT AMBROSE AT MILAN.

OLD MAN IN COTTA.

OLD MAN IN "FANON" BEARING OBLEY AND WINE CRUET.

HOOD WORN OVER "FANON."

OLD WOMEN OF THE SCHOOL OF SAINT AMBROSE AT MILAN.

OLD WOMAN IN SPECIAL DRESS.

OLD WOMAN IN "FANON" BEARING OBLEY AND WINE CRUET.

VEIL WORN OVER "FANON."

women, last of all the priests and deacons; but these only offer bread.[1] Other instances of this use of the word may be found in Georgi.[2]

In the offerings, then, of these old men and old women it would seem that we have a survival of the ancient offertory, when the whole congregation offered in kind instead of in money. It would not seem, however, that these hosts and wine are now at Milan consecrated at the mass at which they are offered, which was the ancient practice,[3] but the obleys being provided by the sacristy of the Metropolitan Church return thither, and they are afterwards used at other masses; while the wine, although also provided by the sacristy like the obleys, the *Vecchioni* have to their own use.

To return for a moment to the first of these vestments that have been spoken of. There can be hardly a doubt that an ornament made of linen and shaped like a chasuble has been often worn as a surplice, and, in fact, that it is nothing more than a surplice. The want of orphreys in the linen ornament proves nothing, for, if we may trust the monuments of the middle ages that have come down to us, a large proportion of the mediæval chasubles, especially in England, had no orphreys whatever[4]; even as the English stoles and maniples had no crosses. The

[1] J. Mabillon, *Museum Italicum*, Lut. Paris. 1724, t. ii. p. 46.

[2] Dominici Georgii, *de Liturgia Romani Pontificis*, Romae, 1731, t. i. p. 268. See also Durandus, *Rationale Divinorum Officiorum*, lib. IV. cap. xxx. § 27. Neapoli, 1859. p. 224.

[3] Mazzuchelli (*op. cit.* p. 22) gives the following extract from an inedited manuscript written by Bescapè *de ritibus ecclesiae Mediolanensis* in the Ambrosian library at Milan (p. 30). "Sunt decem vetuli et totidem vetulae, omnes ab archiepiscopo delecti, qui in coniugio non sint. Hi a veteribus nostris, ut ex Beroldo apparet, appellati sunt schola sancti Ambrosii, et quibusdam sacris officiis intersunt. Horum mares duo et totidem feminae honesto et antiquo vestitu ad gradus presbyterii (Beroldus ait mares intrare chorum) veniunt fanonibus hoc est mappis quibusdam candidis apte involuti, et manibus panno ipso opertis, dextera oblatas, sinistra amulas cum vino tenent: quae sacerdos illuc ab altari cum ministris descendens suscipit."

[4] The absence of orphreys in the chasuble was very noticeable in the exhibition of mediæval pictures that was got together by the Society of Antiquaries at Burlington House in the summer of 1896.

question then arises how far does a priest really obey the Ornaments' rubric if in celebrating the Eucharist he wear one of these linen chasuble-shaped surplices? The intention may be thought to be good; but to come to the hard letter of the law, is he really obeying the rubric? Is he doing nothing more than wearing a second surplice? This wearing of a second surplice as a eucharistic vestment I actually saw one summer in Scotland at a chapel which I think is in the diocese of St. Andrews. Apparently the celebrant wore an albe, over which was a green stole; and then over the stole and albe was a surplice with sleeves. The surplice was not very long; it only reached the knee, and the ends of the stole were plainly visible below the hem of the surplice. Many of the wearers of linen chasubles would doubtless be much amused at this array of the good priest; but I doubt if they themselves do not very much the same thing when they wear linen chasubles. A linen chasuble is only known to the Ornaments' rubric as a possible vestment for the first four weeks of Lent. The wearing of a linen chasuble at all times of the Christian year cannot be called an observance of the Ornaments' rubric, if I may be allowed an opinion. This linen ornament is only another surplice.[1]

It would almost seem that the material, and not the shape, determines the name of the vestment. The dalmatic or tunicle when made of linen becomes the surplice; and the surplice, that is, a linen vestment, fitting close to the body and coming down to the heels, with

[1] Mr. Micklethwaite has reminded me of a circumstance in connexion with this paper that some thirty or forty years ago a chasuble-shaped surplice was in use in some parts of England. This recalled to my recollection that on St. Peter's day, 1861, I had been at a service in St. Mary's, Crown Street, then a curious old building that had been used for the services of the Greek Orthodox community in London in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, when the late Mr. Chambers, the incumbent, wore over his cassock this round chasuble-shaped surplice, and over that a black stole. He was assisted by the late Dr. Littledale as gospeller, who wore a surplice, with a stole deaconwise; and as epistler by one who I think was Mr. Vaux.

BISHOP AND TWO CLERKS.

From a mosaic in San Vitale at Ravenna, set up about A.D. 547.

loose sleeves may be seen in the mosaics of Ravenna. It is very likely that the name, surplice (*superpelliceum*) is not to be found much before the twelfth century; but the thing is to be found as early as any distinctive vestment, as early as the chasuble. Plate XII. (see opposite) is one of the earliest representations known of the Christian Vestments. It is a reproduction of a mosaic at Ravenna, set up in the reign of the Emperor Justinian, about A.D. 547.

We see the bishop with a cross in his hand, attended by two clerks, one of whom carries a *textus*, the other a censer: both are tonsured.

The bishop wears three primitive vestments: the linen under-vestment, corresponding to our surplice; the coloured over-vestment, which is the chasuble; and the pall, a white scarf thrown over the shoulders.

(a) The linen vestment is common to the bishop and his clerks: it comes down to the feet, and the sleeves are not tight to the arm, but wide, approaching those of the more modern surplice. It will be seen that though the word surplice is comparatively modern, yet the vestment itself is as old as any.

(b) The chasuble (in Latin *paenula*) dark in colour, is, in this mosaic and others at Ravenna, of an olive green. It has no bands or orphreys, the absence of which may be noticed in England as late as the end of the middle ages.

(c) The pall, the special episcopal ornament, is white and fringed and marked with a cross. It is still given to all bishops in the East, though now limited in the West to those bishops to whom it is sent from Rome, usually metropolitans. It is to the bishop what in later times the stole was to the priest.

There is no appearance of the stole, the maniple, the amice, or the dalmatic, in this mosaic. It confirms the tradition as to the two chief vestments that the Roman Mass book retains to this day: celebrans semper utitur Planeta super Albam.[1] This also finds expression in the

[1] *Rubricae generales*, xix.

rubric of Edward VI.'s prayer book, which directs an alb with a vestment or cope.

There is no resemblance in the chasuble and pall to any of the Levitical vestments. The most ingenious person can hardly detect any likeness between these. But the white under-vestment has a certain kinship to the linen under-vestment of the High Priest, " tunica linea," and the best authorities say that this vestment was made with tight sleeves, not with the wide open sleeves which the mosaics at Ravenna show. The tightening of the sleeves of the linen under-vestment and the adoption of a girdle may have been part of the deliberate Judaising of some of the Christian vestments which we know took place in the early middle ages, mainly in the West.[1] The wide sleeves may be seen in frescoes and mosaics much later than those at Ravenna : for example, in S. Maria Antiqua at Rome, in the apse of St. Agnes outside the walls, and elsewhere.

I wish to take this opportunity of thanking my friend, the Rev. Achille Ratti, Doctor of the Ambrosian Library at Milan, for the assistance which he has given me in all that relates in this paper to the School of St. Ambrose in the Metropolitan Church. I fear that my questions must often have been troublesome to him, but he has nevertheless always been most ready to give me information upon all matters, and especially upon the history and character of the fanon. I am very grateful to him for his help. And I am also under considerable obligations to the Master of the Ceremonies in the Metropolitan Church, Dr. Marco Magistretti, for the trouble which he took in arranging for the photography connected with the representations of the members of the School of St. Ambrose.

[1] See the Introduction to J. Wickham Legg and W. H. St. John Hope, *Inventories of Christ Church, Canterbury*, Westminster, Constable, 1902.

On the Three Ways of Canonical Election

On the Three Ways of Canonical Election

When I became a fellow of the Royal College of Physicians some thirty years ago, one part of the ceremonial of that ancient foundation which particularly struck me was the method used in electing the President. Every year on Palm Sunday (in modern times it is the day after) the fellows were to meet in college, and there proceed to the election of a president. The election is still on this wise. First of all, the Registrar reads out the bye-law which governs the election of a president. There is no formal proposal or nomination; but each fellow present writes down on a balloting paper the name of the fellow for whom he votes; if the fellow add more than one name, the vote is null and void. The voting papers are then collected in a large silver vessel by the Junior Censor, and brought to the Senior Censor, and by him read out in the presence of the college. If two-thirds of the fellows present agree upon a particular name, the bearer of that name is forthwith elected president. But if not, the two names having the highest number of votes are then again balloted for: in this latter case a simple majority of those present, the more part, determines the election.[1]

One would not expect that anything connected with "the Science and Faculty of Physic," as it is called in the Act of King Henry VIII. establishing the College of Physicians,[2] would lead one into the study of the

[1] *The Charter, Bye-laws, and Regulations of the Royal College of Physicians of London*, 1892. Chap. IV. Bye-law xxix. p. 43.

[2] *Op. cit.* p. 11.

Canon Law. But it is so. This election of the President is an example of an election *per scrutinium*, one of the methods of election spoken of in the Constitution *Quia propter*,[1] which occurs among the decretals of Gregory IX. and is indeed a little older than this, for it was published by Innocent III. in the fourth Council of the Lateran, held in the year 1215. It may be convenient to add here a translation of *Quia propter*: The title is: on making elections by scrutiny or compromise.

"Whereas, by reason of the diverse forms of election which some endeavour to find out, many hindrances are caused and great dangers ensue to churches widowed of their pastors; we decree that when an election is to be held, all shall there be who ought, wish, and are able conveniently to be present. Then that three members of the college shall be chosen to take the votes of all with diligence, secretly, and one by one: and if the votes have been written down, they shall immediately publish the result, no further hindrance being thrown in the way by appeal: when the votes have been compared, he is to be accounted chosen, in whom all, or the more part, or the more discreet part (pars sanior) of the chapter agree.

"Or, indeed, the power of electing may be given to a few fit persons; who in the place of all may provide a pastor for the widowed church.

"An election made in any other way is null and void, unless perchance all agree by a sort of divine inspiration, and then the election is perfectly valid.

"Those who shall attempt to make an election that is not in agreement with these three forms shall be deprived of their power of election for this turn."

To describe these three ways of election more at length; and taking the last spoken of in *Quia propter* to be mentioned first, there are—

i. *quasi per inspirationem:* when the electors are all agreed to elect the same person and there is not a single

[1] See Appendix I.

dissident. There is nothing miraculous claimed for this. It is a mere method of recording the fact that all are of one mind.

ii. *per scrutinium :* when the votes are given either by word of mouth or in writing to persons appointed to receive them ; " omnes vel maior et sanior pars," is the rule given in *Quia propter ;* but now the consent of two-thirds of those present is in many cases necessary.

iii. *per compromissum :* when the society or college agrees to depute the election to a small committee, such committee to elect without reference back to the original body.

There is a quaint account in English of the methods of election in the Additions to the Rule of St. Saviour and St. Bridget belonging to the nuns of Syon, a religious house in the parish of Isleworth.[1] As it well expresses the general plan of these elections, I will venture to give it below.

> Whan the day of the eleccion is com and dyuyne seruyse that belongeth to them for to performe afore none is ended, the brethren immediatly schal synge masse of the holygost, solemply in stede of hygh masse in solempne aray as the tyme asketh. Whiche ended, the chauntres with another suster whom sche wyl take to her, schal begynne solempnly the ympn *Veni Creator Spiritus,* whiche schal be songe to the ende quyer to quyer, of the sustres. Whiche doon, the priores in a lowe voyce with note schal say thys versicle *Emitte spiritum tuum* and thes two collectes *Deus qui corda* and *Acciones nostras* with *Per Christum dominum nostrum Amen* bothe under one.[2] And whyles the sustres synge thys, the confessour with hys brethren schal say the same with the seyd versicle and collectes.

[1] British Museum, Arundel MS. No. 146. fo. 30, Chapter xii. It has been edited by G. J. Aungier, *History and Antiquities of Syon Monastery,* Westminster, 1840, p. 287.

There is also a very full account of the three methods in *Rituale Cisterciense,* Lib. viii. Capp. i. and ii. Lirinae, 1892, p. 434, a reprint of the editions of 1688 and 1720. See also Martène, *de antiquis monachorum ritibus,* liber v. cap. i.

[2] Both under one : *i.e.* both under one termination *per dominum,* etc.

Thys done the brethren schal begynne ther sexte and the sustres chapter belle ronge forthewithe, they schal spedely come to the crates [1] of the eleccion where as they may speke with the brethren and seculers togyder.

To the whiche crates also schal come the general confessor with two of hys brethren confessours to the sustres suche as he wyl take with hym for to assiste and be there than as witnesses only, and not for to haue any voyce in the eleccion. And whan al be come, the xxiiii^ti^ article of the bulle of pope Martyn the fyfte schal be redde whiche begynneth thus, *Obeuntibus vero vel cedentibus*, et cetera. And this article also is to be red amonge the sustres the day before euery eleccion as it is expressed in the xi^te^ chapter of these addicions.

After thys, the constitucions of the thre formes of eleccion schal be declared in englysch by some wele lerned manne in the lawe of holy chirche beyng with oute at the seyd crates and a notary with hym. That is to say the wey of the holygoste the way of scrutyny and the wey of compromys. And yf it plese the sustres to accepte and preferre the wey of the holygoste, than the priores or any other suster may say thus "What seme ye of such a suster N." expressynge her proper name and syr name. "Me semethe that sche is an able persone to thys office." And yf al answer it plesethe them for to haue her abbes or geue any other answer hauynge the strengthe of ful consente, thys wey is welle spedde yf so be there were no trety nor no menes made before to chese her abbes so that sche be of sufficient age and born in wedlok. Nor it hurteth not thys eleccion thof sche so chosen assente not to her nominacion. But yf any other do it or if any trety or compacte be made tofore for to chese her, than is this wey al to squatte.[2] If the wey of the holygoste preuayle, the pryores schal say in thys wyse, *In nomine patris, et filii, et spiritus sancti. Amen. I, suster N. N. priores of this monastery of saynt saviour, and of sayntes mary the virgyn and*

[1] It will be noted that the nuns of Syon did not speak of their *grille* but of their *grate*. Dr Johnson speaks of the nuns' grate at Paris. "Mrs. Thrale got into a convent of English nuns, and I talked with her through the grate." (James Boswell, *Life of Samuel Johnson*, London, 1900. Vol. ii. p. 143. A letter dated Oct. 22. 1775.)

[2] Squatte: Scat, broken, ruined, Cornw. (J. O. Halliweli, *Dictionary of Archaic and Provincial Words*, London, 1872, seventh edition, *s. v.* Scat.)

birgitte of syon, of the order of saynte austyn kleped of saynte sauiour, of the diocyse of london. In the name and byhalue of al vs chesers werkyng with vs the grace of the holygoste before inwardly callyd and bysoughte, chese suche a suster, N. N. expressyng her proper name and her by name expresly professed in this monastery beynge of sufficiente and lauful age fre of birth and borne in wedlok wyse and discrete in to the abbes of thys our monastery.

Of the wey of Scrutyny. If it happe by the demerites of the chesers, that it pleseth not god to enspire them the wey of the holygoste, than they schal go to the wey of scrutyny whiche is the ordynary wey. To the lauful execucion whereof alle the sustres moste name thre sustres for to serche and knowe the wylles of alle. Whyche sustres so named in nowyse schal lette any sustre be sygne or worde or be any other mene that sche may not say and frely name whom sche wyll nor reuele to any what other say or whom any of hem name to be abbesse. And alle her wylles and nominacions herde in the presence of the general confessour and of hys two seyd brethren of the lerned man of lawe and of the seyde notary, the same notary forthewith schal putte in wrytynge as they come whom euery suster namethe to be abbes. And sche than in the forme that foloweth schal be chosen in to the abbes whom al the couente or elles the more and sadder party haue named ther to so that the persone so named be eligible. And yf it so fall that for the dyuersite of voyces dyuersly dyrecte in to dyuers persones none suche persone yet is founde, than schal they have recourse to a newe scrutyny and neuer cese of suche recourse tyl the more and holer party of them haue directe ther voyces in to a certayn persone able to be chosen in to the abbes.

This done and publysched in general, one of thoꝑ thre serches whom thei wyll assigne among themselfe schal pronounce and chese that persone, in to whom the couente or the more and holer party haue consentyd sayng thus *In nomine patris et filii, et spiritus sancti. Amen.* I, *N. N. suche a suster professyd in thys monastery of seynte sauyour and of sayntes mary the virgin and birgitte of syon of the order of saynte austyn named of seynte sauyour of the dyocyse of london one of the serches taken and made in the acte of thys presente eleccion in al that I haue power as in thys acte and in*

the same power of that other two serches and in ther name and in the name of al our sustres of thys seyd monastery, chese in comen suche a suster N.N. of this monastery expresly professed beyng in sufficient and lawful age borne in matrimony fre wyse and discrete, in to oure abbes of thys oure seyd monasterye.

Whiche eleccion thus execute and fynysched eyther be the weye of compromys or be the weye of the holygoste, the chauntres solempnly schal begyn forthwith thys psalme *Te Deum laudamus*. Whiche psalme the sustres schal performe with songe quyer to quyer to the ende.

It may be noticed that there are no particulars of the way of compromise given by the nuns of Syon, though they speak of it as one of the three methods.

I. To take first, elections *quasi per inspirationem*, by way of the Holy Ghost, as we call it in English. In ecclesiastical history we may remember elections sometimes said to be like this : such as the sudden acclamation with which St. Ambrose was elected Bishop of Milan, while not yet baptized ; or the case of the famous Hildebrand (Gregory VII.), though these are instances of election by popular tumult rather than of election according to the canon law.

Descending, however, to actual and undoubted cases, there is a full account of an election, by way of the Holy Ghost, of one of the last Abbots of Westminster, John Islip.[1] The monks being assembled on Tuesday the 27th of October, A.D. 1500, a mass of the Holy Ghost was said at the high altar ; and the bell being rung to chapter, they heard in the chapter house a sermon on this text : " Instead of thy fathers thou shalt have children whom thou mayest make princes." [2] Sermon being ended, *Veni Creator*, with the usual versicle and collects, was sung. Then the king's letters patent giving *congé d'élire*, granting as they do a perfectly free election, were

[1] Richard Widmore, *An history of the church of St. Peter, Westminster*, London, 1751. Additional Instruments to Appendix, p. 234.

[2] Psalm xlv. 17. (Vulgate, xliv.)

exhibited and read in the chapter. All persons not qualified to vote were warned off by the prior, who was John Islip himself, and the constitution *Quia propter* was read by Dan Edward Vaughan, the director of the chapter. The same monk then asked the prior and convent by what way they would proceed in this election. To which they at once answered that they would proceed by way of the Holy Ghost. Thereupon Dan William Lambard stood up in his place and publicly, before the director and the rest, named Dan John Islip for abbot; and immediately all the monks, with the exception of John Islip, at once without any waiting, or discourse among themselves, or any other deed, with one voice and one spirit, declared the prior John Islip to be chosen abbot. *Te Deum* was then sung and the elect conducted to the high altar, where the election was duly published to the clergy and people there present.

In the election of William Patten, whom we call William Waynflete, Bishop of Winchester and founder of Magdalen College, Oxford, we have very nearly the same programme.[1] There is the same mass of the Holy Ghost, and singing of *Veni Creator*, reading of constitution *Quia propter*, and warning off of persons unqualified to vote; there is also a letter from the King, in which document he tells them that though they "aught not to procede unto thellect'on of a newe pastoure and fader for the chirch of Wynchestre a foresayd, withoute oure licence first had in that partie, yet natheles we aswel for the greet love and affect'on that we bere unto the said chirch"[2] recommend William Waynflete for bishop. Immediately then, without any debate, on a sudden, with one accord, the monks of Winchester elected William Waynflete for their bishop and pastor; and as at Westminster, so at Winchester, they began at once to sing

[1] Richard Chandler, *Life of William Waynflete*, London, 1811. Appendix, p. 305. No. 5.

[2] See Chandler, Appendix, p. 299. No. 1.

Te Deum, and the election was published at the high altar.[1]

Thus in the middle ages was carried out an election *per inspirationem*, by way of the Holy Ghost: and such also is the manner in which at the present day the election of bishops in England still usually takes place. I have notes of recent elections at York from Dr. Raine, who was one of the Canons, at Winchester, from Dr. Kitchin, who was Dean,[2] and at Lincoln from Mr. Venables, who was the Precentor. These gentlemen have been kind enough to notice on my behalf the proceedings at the elections, and from the printed materials and notes which they have been so good as to send me, I gather that the procedure in most cases remains mediæval. The mass of the Holy Ghost has disappeared, but even the sermon remains at York, *Veni Creator* persists everywhere, so also the reading of the *congé d'élire*, that is, the letters patent granting a free election (the letter missive recommending the election of a particular doctor being quite separate), the Dean asking his brethren if they consent to the election of Dr. N. (just as at Syon we find the prioress asking the consent, and at Westminster Edward Vaughan), the immediate consent, the singing of *Te Deum* and the publication at the high altar. At Lincoln the publication takes place at the choir gates, under the bishop's throne, and at the high altar. At

[1] The King seems to have been in a great hurry to get William Waynflete elected. Cardinal Beaufort died on Tuesday, April 11th. The King must have heard of it at Windsor the same day, for the English letter just quoted is dated April 11th. The petition of the monks for the leave to elect (*congé d'élire*) is dated the 12th of April (p. 300) and the *congé d'élire* itself is dated April 15th at Canterbury, (p. 316) while the election took place on the morning of that day, (p. 307). The *congé d'élire* can hardly have been received at Winchester from Canterbury before the election took place, an irregularity which the King anticipates in a second English letter, dated April 13th (p. 302), bidding the monks to proceed to election on April 15th "in al godely haast," and that the letters patent shall bear date before, "having recommended in the moost specialle wise oure said clerc maister William Waynflete." The King did not confirm the election until April 27th.

[2] Now Dean of Durham.

York the Dean publishes the election in the nave, and at the choir gates. (See below, p. 85, Appendix III.)

A recent election at Wells is perhaps an example to be avoided rather than followed. One of the features of a canonical election, it will have been noticed, is the absence of debate; but at Wells the garrulity of a parliament seems to have invaded the chapter. Reporters were evidently admitted; and instead of setting soberly to business as soon as the *congé d'élire* and the letters missive were read, the doctor recommended to the chapter by the crown was positively proposed and seconded by two of the canons or prebendaries, and the question put as if the chapter had been a public meeting. It may be noticed that neither of the antiquaries of the chapter, the Dean or the Sub-dean, was present; and this perhaps may account for the extraordinary confusion of the proceedings.[1] In fact, the presence of shorthand writers and of other persons unqualified to vote is a serious irregularity; for if we look upon Ayliffe as any authority in English Canon Law, it may follow that there is no bishop of Bath and Wells at this moment; for, after speaking of the threefold method of canonical elections, and that the bishop must not be elected in any other place but the cathedral church, otherwise the election is invalid, this writer adds "That Laymen shall not be present, and if they are, the Act shall be totally annull'd."[2]

The papal elections are now governed by the Bull *Æterni Patris* of Gregory XV., and this document[3] mentions *quasi per inspirationem* as one of the permitted methods of electing the pope. But though there are several instances of the election of a pope by this method, especially in the sixteenth century, one of the last being Sixtus V., yet it does not seem to have been actually

[1] *The Guardian*, Sept. 1894, p. 1409, col. iii. from the *Wells Journal*.

[2] John Ayliffe, *Parergon Iuris Canonici Anglicani*, London, 1726, p. 243.

[3] *De electione Romani Pontificis*, printed at length in *Caeremoniale continens ritus electionis Romani Pontificis*, Romae, 1724. p. 37.

used since the publication of the Bull *Æterni Patris*, though distinctly permitted by this constitution. There is an instance of it in the election of Clement VII. After many days spent in fruitless balloting it was agreed to elect the Cardinal de Medici: and the future pope having come into the chapel, the Dean of the College of Cardinals said to him: Most Reverend Lord, all the most reverend Cardinals are well content that you be pope; and I now, as Dean, in the name of the most reverend Lords, and in the name of the Holy Ghost invoked by them, choose and pronounce you, the most reverend lord Julius, Cardinal presbyter and Vice-Chancellor of the Holy Roman Church, as Pope and Roman Pontiff. Then all and singular the Cardinals standing around him said the same thing unanimously, and with a loud voice.[1]

Thus began the disastrous pontificate of Clement VII., to whom might be assigned the character of Reuben; "Unstable as water, thou shalt not excel."

II. To pass on to election *per scrutinium*. Nowadays it is usually practised by means of voting papers; in the middle ages the vote was given by word of mouth to the scrutineers: consequently one of the first things to be done in an election by scrutiny was to appoint scrutineers: *scrutatores*, of whom, according to *Quia propter*, there were to be three. Of the electors a majority seems to be sufficient for a valid election: he was to be elected whom all, or the greater, and more discreet, part should choose. But before *Quia propter*, in the constitution *Licet de Vitanda* of Alexander III., A.D. 1180, it was determined that in papal elections two-thirds of those present thould join in one name.[2]

An example of an election *per scrutinium* is set forth at length in the process of the election of William de

[1] J. B. Gattico, *Acta selecta Caeremonialia sanctae Romanae Ecclesiae*, Romae, 1753, p. 323.

[2] *Caeremoniale*, just quoted, p. 5.

Pickering to the Deanery of York in 1310.[1] The votes of canons present, and of those absent given by their proctors, are recorded, names being given; at the first ballot there were twelve votes in favour of Robert de Pickering, seven in favour of William de Pickering, and two in favour of John de Merkingfeld; but Robert gave way in favour of his kinsman William; John de Merkingfeld also withdrew; and so followed an unanimous election of William de Pickering.

The procedure in the Convocation house in the University of Oxford may recall to some of us in the method of collecting the votes, (not in the making of speeches,) the mediæval method of election by scrutiny expressed by word of mouth. The proctors are the scrutineers: they demand the vote of the graduate, which is recorded by pricking with a needle; as the King still appoints the sheriffs by pricking a roll opposite the name of the sheriff. The votes of the graduates being collected, the proctor announces: "Maiori parti placet" or "Maiori parti non placet," as the case may be.

Of the "way of scrutiny" we have a well-known example in the ordinary method of electing the pope. It has been seen that the pope may be elected by way of the Holy Ghost or by compromise, but scrutiny is the ordinary way. And of the papal election we have so many details given to us, the ingenuity of generations of Italian minds having been applied to hinder fraud in the voting, and the election itself is so famous and important, that we may dwell for a little on its particulars. The literature of the papal election is very abundant, but the modern details we may take from the constitution of Gregory XV., published in 1621–22.[2]

As in other elections, there is a mass of the Holy Ghost, a sermon, and *Veni Creator* sung as the Cardinals follow the papal cross into conclave. The first day

[1] James Raine, *Historians of the Church of York*, Rolls Series, 1894. vol. iii p. 227.

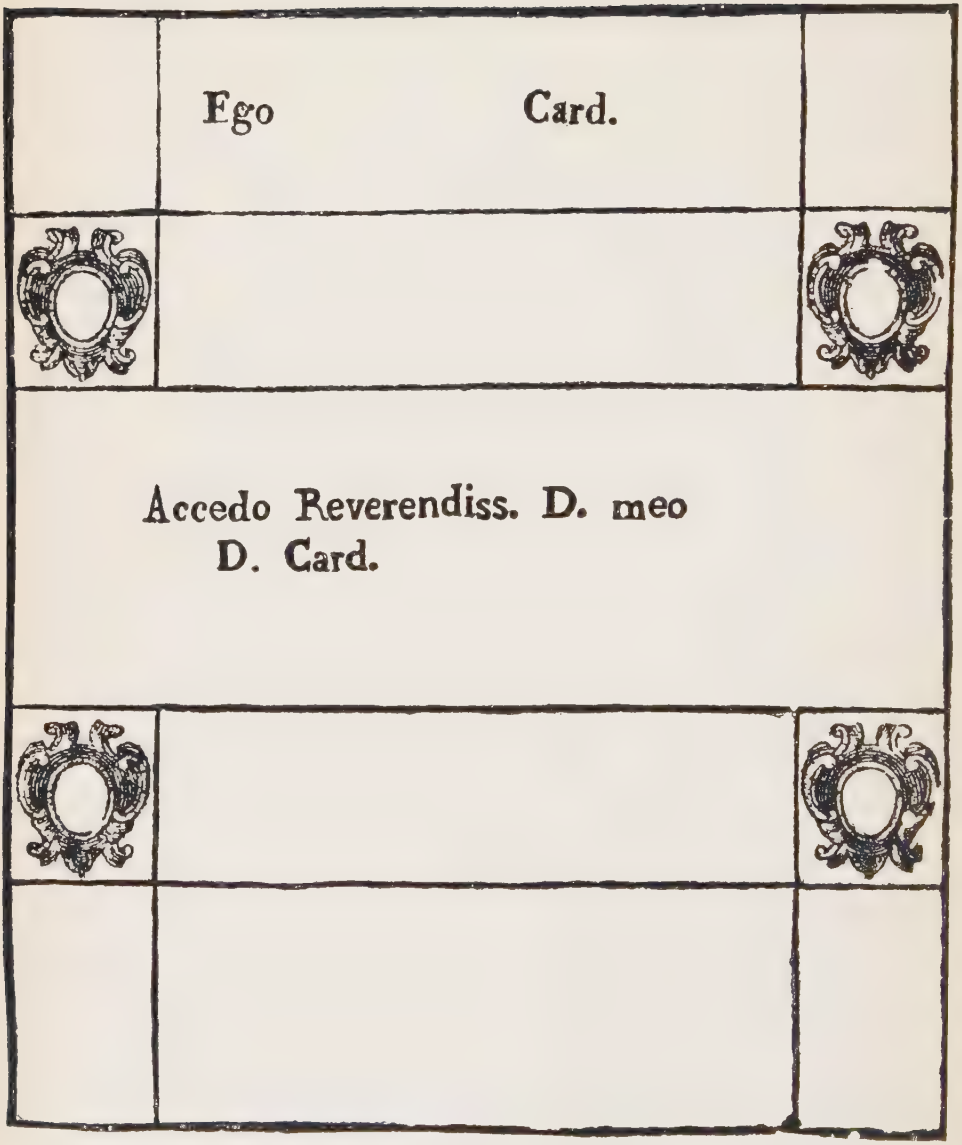
[2] See *Caeremoniale* already quoted, p. 50.

nothing is done but the preliminary business; in the evening the conclave is definitely closed, and until the conclave be shut up, no election can take place. On the second day the cardinals proceed to election. Mass is said in the Pauline chapel, at which all the cardinals communicate, and they then determine by which of the three methods the election shall take place. That *per scrutinium* is usually chosen.

In the account of a papal election written by James Caietan, who died in the middle of the fourteenth century, we are told that if the cardinals agree to proceed by way of scrutiny they elect three scrutineers.[1] Then three scrutineers of the scrutineers are chosen, who look after the scrutineers and write down in duplicate the votes as they are given. Each cardinal could vote for more than one: though Caietan remarks that it is a bad plan, but much practised in his day. Then the votes being given they were all read out aloud by one of the cardinal deacons with the name of the voter attached to them. With this we may contrast the modern system, where the greatest care is taken to prevent the name of the voter transpiring. This open voting was forbidden at the Council of Trent.[2] The votes recorded by the scrutineers of the college being read, they then proceed to read the votes in duplicate of the scrutineers of the scrutineers; and finally there is a comparison of the number of votes received by each candidate: the Cardinal of Ostia, so many; the Cardinal of Tusculum, so many; just as they do in the present time, for Mr. Hartwell D. Grissell has most obligingly shown me some of the lists made out at the conclave in which Leo XIII. was elected, with the number of votes given for each cardinal. Caietan adds there is no comparing of merit with merit, of zeal with zeal, but only of number

[1] J. Mabillon, *Musei Italici*, tom. ii. Lutet. Parisiorum, 1724. p. 246. *Ordo Romanus* XIV.

[2] *Canones et Decreta SS. Œcumenici Concilii Tridentini*, xxv. cap. vi.



CARDINAL'S VOTING PAPER.—*Reclo.*

with number. A majority of two-thirds was required for a valid election.

It is clear that balloting papers were used in the time of Caietan. Very good reproductions of the modern balloting papers are given in the *Caeremoniale* which has been quoted[1]; but I owe to Mr. Grissell again the opportunity of reproducing by photography one of the balloting papers prepared for the conclave in which was elected pope Leo XIII. (See Plates XIII. and XIV.)

Voting-papers are prepared by the masters of the ceremonies. If the papers cannot be printed they must be written by one hand; and a stock of them is kept in two basons on a table before the altar in the conclave, so that the cardinals may take one as they come to vote.

The papers are ordered to be oblong, the breadth less than the height; that is, the latter is to be about a palm, while the former is half a palm. The specimens shown me by Mr. Grissell were about $5\frac{3}{4}$ inches by 5, or 147 millimeters by 125, so that in more modern times the directions of Gregory XV. have not been closely observed. At the top are two words only: I . . . . . Cardinal[2] (to be filled up with the Cardinal's name; say: I, John Henry, Cardinal Newman) and a little below are two circles, upon which the seals are to be put. In the midst follow these words in two lines in Latin: choose as pope my most reverend lord, the lord cardinal N.[3] Then at the bottom of the voting-paper there are also two circles for the seals, as above, and a space for the Cardinal's number and motto, called *signa*. At the back of the voting-paper, where at the top the cardinal will write his name, at the bottom his number and motto, are ornamental designs called by the Italian printers *fregi*. I believe the English printers call it "head-

[1] See pp. 57 to 63 for reproductions of the balloting paper spread out, *verso* and *recto*, or half folded, ready for voting. These are excellent reproductions of these voting papers, showing the methods of folding, &c., in the Appendix to Mr. H. D. Grissell's *Sede Vacante*, James Parker, 1903. p. 78.

[2] Ego . . . . . Card.

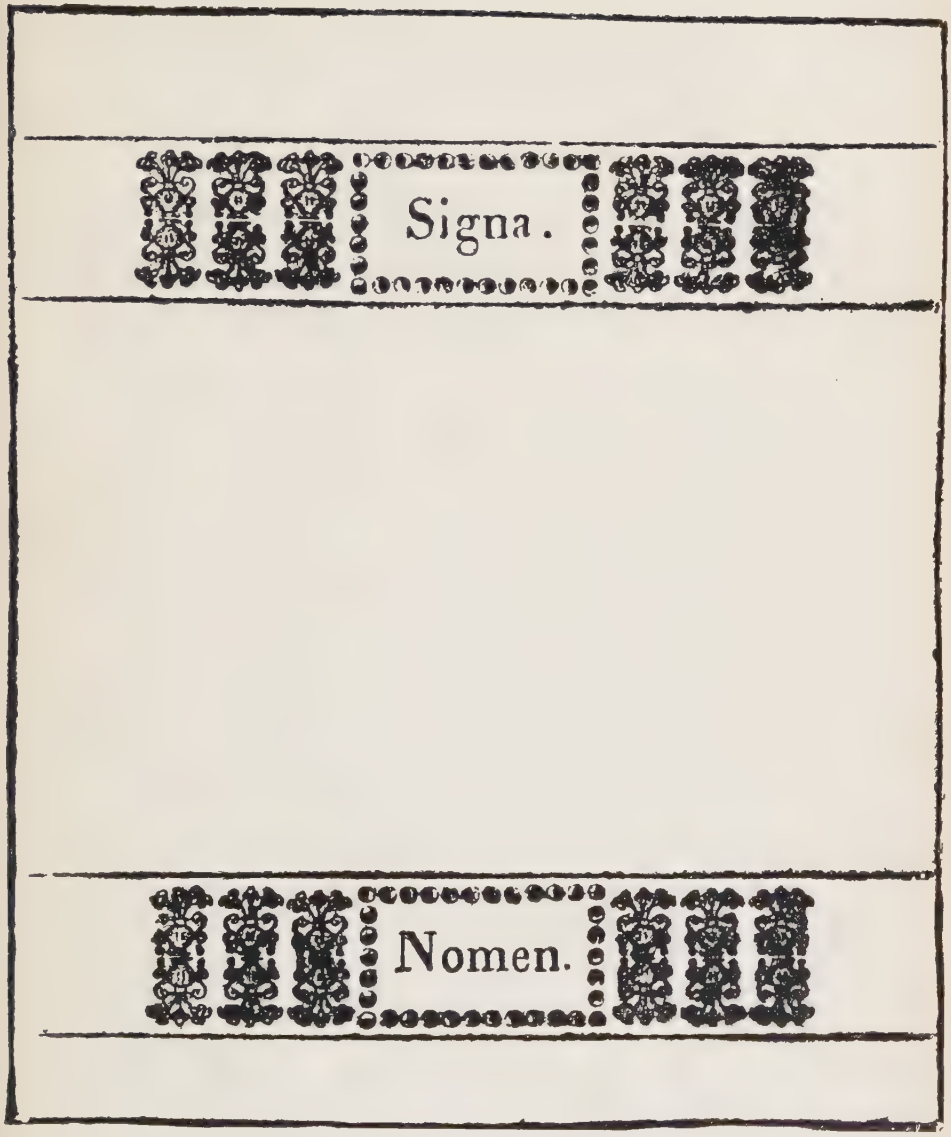
[3] Eligo in Summum Pontificem R. D.

piece" ; they are like the scrolls at the head of a chapter in an eighteenth century edition. These are printed on the back to hinder the writing on the front, the name and *signa*, from showing through (see the facsimile), for extraordinary pains are taken to prevent the name of the voter becoming known to the scrutators. When the cardinal is to vote he approaches the table or tables where there are ink and pens and other apparatus, but all arranged so that those who write may be seen, but what is written not seen. The cardinal then fills up the voting-paper in a disguised hand, and seals in the places marked with red wax ; using not his own arms but a seal with three numbers, or with three letters, or one simple design. The seals can be seen by the scrutators : but without breaking the seals the scrutators cannot read the name or motto of the cardinal voting. This rule of great secrecy makes the folding of the voting-paper a serious affair. First, both top and bottom are folded over so that the name and motto of the cardinal are hidden and the ornamental designs only appear on the back ; then the paper is folded again so as to reduce the voting-paper to the length of a man's thumb. Then it is folded again between the two lines of Latin printed in the middle of the paper, and the voting-paper is then ready to be carried to the altar and put into the chalice.

The cardinal then takes the voting-paper with his two first fingers and openly carries it, raised on high, to the altar where the scrutators are, on which there is a large chalice covered with a paten. There kneeling he prays for a short time, and rising says with a loud voice, reading from a card set on the altar : " I call to witness Christ our Lord, who is to judge me, that I choose him whom in the sight of God I judge ought to be elected, and I will answer for the same in *accessus*." Then he places the voting-paper on the paten and thence puts it into the chalice and bowing to the altar returns to his place.

All the cardinals having voted, the chalice is shaken many times while it is covered with the paten, and the

[*To face p. 72*



CARDINAL'S VOTING PAPER.—*Verso.*

votes are then taken out and counted. If they do not correspond with the number of the cardinals, the whole set of papers is forthwith burnt, and a fresh balloting begun. But if they correspond, the scrutineers take out a voting-paper, show the seals intact, and read aloud the name voted for, so that all the cardinals can hear, and note in their papers on which are printed the names of all the cardinals in conclave. The votes being counted, the voting-papers are run on a file through the printed word "eligo," and put aside. After this comes the *accessus*, which is a repetition of the voting in the scrutiny, but with different voting-papers. The voting-papers of the scrutiny and *accessus* are then compared, the numbers and mottoes at the lower parts of the voting-papers being examined and found to correspond, but the upper parts, however, with the names of the cardinals, as yet preserve their seals unbroken.

Then the votes are counted. If one name do not obtain two-thirds of the votes, whether in the scrutiny alone or in the scrutiny and *accessus* combined, no pope is elected. But if one name have two-thirds of the votes, then they open the upper part of the voting-paper of the cardinal with that name where the cardinal has written his own name; and if it appear that he voted for another, the election is good; but if he voted for himself, null, on account of the lack of one vote: not, however, if there be more than two-thirds voting for him.

The voting-papers, whether there have been an election or not, are next examined by certain officers called *Recognitores*, who see if the votes be really as given out by the scrutineers. Last of all, the entire set of voting-papers used in this ballot are burnt.

In the early statutes of the Colleges at Oxford[1] we find methods of election of a head clearly based upon the

[1] I have used the edition of the *Statutes of the Colleges of Oxford*, Stationery Office, 1853, in three volumes. The statutes of each college have a separate pagination; thus the pages given belong to the separate pages of the statutes of each college spoken of.

Constitution *Quia propter*. At Balliol the statutes of Sir Philip Somerville correspond in these particulars with those of Robert Fitz-Hugh, Bishop of London. The election is to be by scrutiny; and the scrutineers are to take the votes secretly, apparently by word of mouth, and then write them down. Then they are faithfully to announce the election; and he is elected for whom "maior pars communitatis consenserit": i.e. a bare majority. If the votes be equal, then the "pars sanior" is to have the casting vote: and the "pars sanior" is defined to be the seniors and those who are well learned men.[1] At Queen's College the election of the head was always to be *per scrutinium*, and the election was by the majority.[2] At New College the fellows were to be unanimous, if possible; if not unanimous, then the election was to be by a majority of those present. Five scrutineers are ordered, one divine, another a canonist, a third a civilian, and two masters of arts. It is expressly stated that as soon as an absolute majority is obtained the person backed by that majority is elected Warden.[3] At All Souls' the fellows choose two fellows whose names are submitted to the Archbishop of Canterbury who chooses one.[4] There was something like this at Merton in 1274. Seven of the more discreet seniors were to inquire of the "Scholars" who would be a good warden; of the names received in this inquiry the seniors were to choose three who were to be named to the patron, by whose authority one of these three would be chosen.[5] At Lincoln the election of the head seems to have been by a mere majority.[6] So also at Brasenose.[7] At Magdalen[8] and Cardinal College[9] we meet with an unusual feature in these elections, the nomination of candidates. Ordinarily, no one is proposed in an election by scrutiny.

At Corpus Christi, in the early sixteenth century,

[1] pp. ix. 4. [2] p. 8. [3] p. 24. [4] p. 13.
[5] p. 33. [6] p. 15 [7] p. 3. [8] p. 7.
[9] pp. 23, 156.

balloting papers make their appearance. The election of the President is to be by the seven senior fellows. This reminds one of an election *per compromissum* and of the seven "elects" at the College of Physicians. The two eldest of these are the scrutineers; they write down their own votes upon a *schedula* secretly and privately, and their own names as well. When they have given their votes, then the rest of the electing body give theirs secretly and privately. The election is by a majority; and in the statutes of this college appears the injunction that you are not to vote for yourself.[1] At St. John's (founded in the reign of Philip and Mary) we have the voting-papers again.[2] I have been told that at this college the chalice is used for the collection of the votes, as it is in the papal election, but I have no certain information of this. At Pembroke we have also a reminiscence of the papal election in the direction that as soon as the votes have been counted and written down, the voting-papers are to be burnt.[3]

In nearly all these college elections it will be noticed that a bare majority is enough, not two-thirds of the voters, as at the College of Physicians, a proportion not insisted upon in *Quia propter*, though it has been necessary in papal elections since the twelfth century.

What is the present method of electing heads of houses at Oxford I have not taken the trouble to inquire. We know that the Universities have been visited by commissions, each more ignorant than its forerunner of the nature and constitution of a university,[4] so that next to

[1] p. 3. [2] p. 14.

[3] p. 4. See also the *Rituale Cisterciense*.

[4] To show the care with which the new statutes have been framed and the necessity there was for reform, I may say that in one college, where there had never been any difficulty in electing a head from the middle ages to the present time, the first election under the new statutes nearly ended in a deadlock, and a deadlock out of which there was no way, though counsel's opinion and the like measures were taken. It is not surprising therefore to be told that many of the men who took a leading part in introducing these "reforms" now express great sorrow for the share which they had in this work of destruction.

nothing of antiquity remains untampered with. "That which the palmer worm hath left hath the locust eaten; and that which the locust hath left hath the canker worm eaten; and that which the canker worm hath left hath the caterpillar eaten." These ancient institutions have been looked upon as vile bodies upon which experiments might be tried, or as subjects to be brought into close conformity with the examining body in Burlington Gardens, which itself has now happily disappeared.

We know too well that restoration, reform, and renovation are only other names for ruin, and there is little now left at the Universities but the buildings; and even these are being rapidly restored away.

III. The third method of election is by compromise, that is, by a small committee. It seems an advantageous way of settling the business when there is a large body to consult; and it prevailed at the College of Physicians from Henry VIII.'s time to our own. By the Charter there was a body called the elects, "from hence forward to be called and cleaped Elects; and that the same elects yearly choose one of them to be President of the said commonalty."[1] This committee was abolished in the general changes made in the constitution of the college in the years 1858–60. The Bishop of London is still often elected *per compromissum*.[2]

Archdeacon Cheetham tells me of a very notable thing that happens at Rochester when a bishop of that see is elected. At the stage in the proceedings when the chapter should be asked by what way they will proceed to election, the Dean always proposes that the election be *per compromissum*, to which the chapter agrees, but the election is committed to the whole body present. If all be not agreed to proceed *per compromissum*, that method of election cannot be enforced. From a document printed by Gattico it would appear that the assent to proceed to the election of the pope *per com-*

[1] *Charter, Bye Laws*, &c., p. 10.
[2] See below, Appendix iv. p. 87.

promissum must be unanimous; and that even if one elector prefer *per scrutinium*, the election must be by that way.[1] The number of the compromissors was nearly always uneven, so that no dispute could arise from equal voting.

As a mediæval example of the way of compromise, we may choose the election of Robert of Winchelsey as Archbishop of Canterbury in 1292, because this election is early and because we have abundance of documents in Wilkins drawn up *sede vacante*.[2] To take first the document which records the appointment of the compromissors. The chapter being assembled, they were first asked by what way they would proceed to election: and it was agreed unanimously (nullo penitus reclamante) that they would provide by way of compromise for the church of Canterbury, widowed of its archbishop and pastor. They then elected as compromissors Martin of Clyve the penitentiary, G. de Romenal the precentor, R. de Adersham sub-prior, J. de Welles treasurer, R. de Celeseya, J. de Wy, and R. de Clyve, monks, that is, seven of the monastery, four obedientiaries or officers and three plain monks. They were to elect either unanimously or by a bare majority (omnes vel maior pars vestrum) and they might elect whom they chose, one of the monks of Canterbury, or another: and whosoever was chosen would be Archbishop of Canterbury.

The same day the compromissors met, and they did then choose Robert of Winchelsey, Archdeacon of Essex, and Doctor of Divinity, to be Archbishop of Canterbury.

We have also a very full account of the election by compromise of Archbishop Stratford in 1333.[3] The

[1] Gattico, *op. cit.* p. 124.

[2] David Wilkins, *Concilia*, Lond., 1737, t. ii. p. 189.

[3] Wilkins, *op. cit.* p. 565. The documents connected with the election, *per compromissum*, of Ralph de Bourne as Abbot of St. Augustine's, Canterbury, are given in full in Sir Edward Maunde Thompson's edition of the Customary of that abbey. (*Customary of the Benedictine Monasteries of Saint Augustine, Canterbury, and Saint Peter, Westminster*, Henry Bradshaw Society, London, 1902. vol. i. pp. 16 *et seq.* and 43.)

prior and chapter chose three monks : Robert of Dover, sub-prior ; John of Sandwich ; and James of Oxeney ; and gave to them power to take to themselves seven more monks of Canterbury to be compromissors, four of whom to be a quorum, and to elect a proper person as archbishop. The three monks first mentioned then proceeded to choose as compromissors Thomas Goldston precentor, Hugh of St. Margaret's almoner, Richard of Ichham, William of Coventry sacrist, Richard of Wyllardseye, Edmund of Adesham cellarer, and Hugh of St. Ives reader.

These compromissors going apart, after much talk about many names, chose, by a unanimous vote, John, Bishop of Winchester. After *Te Deum* the election was published from the rood loft to a large number of the faithful.

Sometimes there was only one compromissor to whom the election was entrusted, and he might not be a member of the Society. For example, Dr. Aidan Gasquet tells me that the last abbot of Glastonbury was elected in this fashion, Cardinal Wolsey being appointed "compromissor *totaliter*." By virtue of this commission Whiting was appointed abbot.[1] He was one of the victims of Thomas Cromwell.

The canonists seem to be agreed that in the case of a sole compromissor he may not elect himself. It would show that he was ambitious, and it would be a disgraceful thing, and the like.[2]

One of the most important elections in the history of the English Church is that of Matthew Parker to the See of Canterbury. This was by a sole compromissor ; and the *processus* now printed shows the extraordinary care taken to preserve even the unessential forms of a canonical election.[3] The forms observed remind one

[1] F. A. Gasquet, *The last Abbot of Glastonbury*, Lond. 1894. p. 33.

[2] P. M. Passerini de Sextula, *De electione canonica*, Romae, 1661. Cap. xxii. Qu. 8. p. 334.

[3] Denny and Lacey, *De Hierarchia Anglicana*, Londini, 1895. Appendix III. p. 201.

very greatly of those used in the election of John Islip at Westminster in 1500,[1] or of the other earlier elections that have been described.

The bell being rung to chapter, they entered the chapter house and the Queen's Letters patent (*congé d'élire*) granting a free election were then read; it does not appear that any Letters missive nominating Matthew Parker were exhibited. Then all unqualified persons were warned off, and the chapter *Quia propter* read, and on being asked by what way they would proceed to election, the chapter unanimously decided that they would proceed by way of compromise; and they then appointed Nicholas Wotton, the Dean, sole compromissor, on condition that he would immediately proceed to election, in the face of the chapter. Having accepted the burden of the compromise, he gave his vote for Matthew Parker. Then the chapter, leaving the chapter house and entering the choir of their church, sang *Te Deum laudamus* in English, and William Darrell, one of the canons, authorized by the chapter, duly published the election to the clergy and people.

Election *per compromissum* still goes on in our day. We often see that a colonial bishopric is to be provided for by the Archbishop of Canterbury and one or two other compromissors.

At the election of a late Bishop of London (Dr. Temple) the Chapter proceeded by way of compromise, the Dean (Dr. Church) being appointed sole compromissor. (See below, p. 87, Appendix IV.)

Of the election by way of scrutiny I can speak favourably as a highly practical method of electing a head. There is no proposing or seconding, and none of the dreary speech making which makes the transaction of business in modern England so unspeakably wearisome. Election by way of compromise is really that practised by many learned societies at the present day. The council, as a matter of fact, elect the officers, the Society

[1] See above, p. 64.

at large merely registering the decrees of the body to which they have entrusted the nomination. We are rarely sufficiently blessed in being all of one mind to make election *quasi per inspirationem* frequent, without external influence; a fate lamented even in the middle ages, for Prior Laurence in his life of Bishop Bateman of Norwich tells us: Via eligendi per viam, quae dicitur, spiritus sancti, quae modernis temporibus rarissime est attrita.[1]

This brings to an end the short sketch of the three ways of election that were once prevalent in the middle ages. These pages contain nothing that is at all new to those who have paid some little attention to the canonical methods of election. I only venture to print because the diffusion of a little elementary knowledge may be useful to those who have to conduct canonical elections. They might be brought more into accordance with the Canon Law which is still in force in this country, where not contrary to the King's prerogative and the laws and customs of this realm. The constitution *Quia propter* was read, it has been seen, as the law of the proceedings, at the election of Archbishop Matthew Parker in Queen Elizabeth's time, and apparently it governed the mode of election; so that we have an excellent precedent for conforming ourselves to its directions, and no reproach of want of loyalty to established authority can be brought against us if we follow its rules.

[1] Peck, *Desiderata Curiosa*, Lond. 1735. vol. ii. lib. vii. p. 2. § 8. I am indebted for this reference to Dr. E. C. Clark, Regius Professor of Civil Law in the University of Cambridge.

APPENDIX I

The Constitution *QUIA PROPTER*

The following is the Latin text of *Quia propter*, taken from Labbe and Cossart, *SS. Concilia*, Paris, 1671. t. XI. pars i. col. 176, with the variations inserted in square brackets, which are given by Æ. L. Richter, *Corpus Iuris Canonici*, Lips. Tauchnitz, 1839. pars ii. col. 85, in the *Decret. Greg.* ix. Lib. I. tit. vi. Cap. xlii.

Concilium Lateranense IV.

Cap. xxiv. De Electione facienda per scrutinium vel compromissum.

Quia propter electionum formas diversas quas quidam invenire conantur et multa impedimenta proveniunt, et magna pericula imminent ecclesiis viduatis: statuimus ut cum electio fuerit celebranda praesentibus omnibus qui debent et volunt et possunt commode interesse, assumantur tres de collegio fide digni qui secrete [secreto] et singulatim voces [vota] cunctorum diligenter exquirant [inquirant] et in scriptis redacta mox publicent [ea *add.*] in communi, nullo prorsus appellatione [appellationis] obstaculo interiecto: ut is collatione adhibita [habita] eligatur, in quem omnes vel maior vel [et] sanior pars capituli consentit [consenserit]. Vel saltem eligendi potestas aliquibus viris idoneis committatur qui vice omnium, ecclesiae viduatae provideant de pastore. Aliter electio facta [Vel electio facta] non valeat, nisi forte communiter [unanimiter] esset ab omnibus quasi per [Dei *add.*] inspirationem Divinam [*om.*] absque vitio celebrata. Qui vero contra praedictas [praescriptas] formas eligere attentaverint, eligendi ea vice potestate priventur.

Illud [autem, *add.*] penitus interdicimus ne quis in electionis negotio procuratorem constituat nisi sit absens in eo loco de quo debeat advocari [vocari] iustoque impedimento detentus venire non possit: super quo, si fuerit opus, fidem, faciat iuramento; et tunc si voluerit uni committat de ipso collegio vicem suam. Electiones quoque clandestinas reprobamus, statuentes [statuimus] ut quam cito electio fuerit celebrata, sollemniter publicetur.

APPENDIX II

The Form of the Licence to Elect or *CONGE D'ÉLIRE*

It would appear that up to the time of St. Anselm the Kings of England often appointed bishops by simple delivery of the crosier. St. Anselm himself became Archbishop-elect of Canterbury when William Rufus forced the crosier into the saint's unwilling hands. But in St. Anselm's days some change in the manner of appointment took place, possibly about the time of the Council of London, in 1107.[1] The late Dr. Stubbs, Bishop of Oxford, considers that Roger of Salisbury was the first bishop in England canonically elected,[2] and this election appears to have taken place on April 13, 1103 or 1102,[3] which is thus several years before the Council of London. The same distinguished authority quotes Henry of Huntingdon to show that Stephen promised free elections to the clergy; in the constitutions of Clarendon it is agreed that the elections of prelates shall take place in the King's chapel.[4]

But soon after, for election in the King's chapel, there seems to have been substituted the *congé d'élire*. Certain canons were deputed by the chapter to repair to the King's court and announce the death of the bishop; making supplication for leave to elect a new bishop. Of the document in answer to this supplication we have an early instance in a *congé d'élire* in the third year of King Henry III. directed to the Chapter of Hereford. It is from the Public Record Office, Patent Rolls 3 Henr. III. part 2. m. 4. 23 April, 1219.

Licencia eligendi. Rex capitulo Heref' salutem.

Venerunt ad nos transmissi nobis ex parte vestra cum litteris vestris viri discreti Th. Decanus ecclesie vestre H. Archidiaconus Salop. et magister N. de Wulurunehamt' concanonici vestri nunciantes nobis decessum H. bone [bone *repeated and struck out*] memorie qui vobis pastor

[1] See David Wilkins, *Concilia*, Lond. 1737. t. i. p. 387. In this council it is said of King Henry I. "investituras amodo ecclesiarum per annulum et baculum remisit, electiones praelatorum omnibus ecclesiis libere concessit." See also S. R. Gardiner (*Student's History of England*, i. 126) who tells us that it was in Anselm's agreement with Henry I. that the chapters acquired the right to elect the bishop in the king's presence.

[2] W. Stubbs, *Constitutional History*, Oxford, 1878, iii. 296. Note 2. See also iii. 302, § 704 and i. 635.

[3] Le Neve, *Fasti Eccles. Anglic.* 1854. Ed. Hardy. Vol. ii. p. 594.

[4] W. Stubbs, *Select Charters*, Oxford, 1870. p. 114.

prefuit et petentes licenciam eligendi pastorem alium sibi et vobis concedi. Quorum peticioni condescendentes concedimus vobis licenciam eligendi vobis pastorem idoneum regno nostro utilem et nobis fidelem, salvo in omnibus iure regie dignitatis.

In some ten years later the form of the letters patent has altered a little, and it has nearly crystallized into the shape which it has retained with slight changes for six hundred years.[1] One may compare the letters patent sent in 1894 to the Chapter of Wells with those sent in 1275 to the same Chapter, and the form is very nearly the same, one being in English and the other in Latin. The Latin document has been taken from Prynne's *Records*.[2]

Rex dilectis sibi in Christo Decano et Capitulo Wellensi salutem.

Accedentes ad nos dilecti nobis Henricus de Monteforti et Magister Robertus de Brandon, cum literis Capituli vestri patentibus, nobis humiliter ex parte vestra supplicarunt, ut cum Ecclesia vestra Wellensis et ecclesia Bathoniensis sint per decessum bone memorie Willielmi nuper episcopi vestri pastoris solacio destitute, vobis et Priori et Conventui Bathoniensi alium eligendi episcopum licenciam concedere dignaremur.

Nos igitur vestris in hac parte precibus favorabiliter inclinati, licenciam illam vobis et ipsis duximus concedendam.

Mandantes quatinus vos una cum ipsis talem vobis eligatis in episco-

Victoria, by the Grace of God, of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland Queen, Defender of the Faith, to our trusty and well-beloved the Dean and Chapter of our cathedral church of Wells, Greeting.

Supplication having been humbly made to us on your part, that whereas the aforesaid church is now void and destitute of the solace of a pastor by the death of the Right Rev. Father in God Doctor Arthur Charles Hervey, commonly called Lord Arthur Charles Hervey, late Bishop of Bath and Wells, we would be graciously pleased to grant you our fundatorial leave and licence to elect another Bishop and pastor of the said see.

We being favourably inclined to your prayers on this behalf, have thought fit, by virtue of these presents, to grant you such leave and licence.

Requiring and commanding you, by the faith and allegiance by which

[1] See the form sent to the Chapter of Salisbury in 1228. (W. H. Rich Jones, *Vetus Registrum Sarisberiense*, Rolls Series, 1884. vol. ii. p. 102.)

[2] William Prynne, *The third tome of an exact Chronological Vindication*, &c. Lond. 1668. p. 165. (King Edward I. Chap. II.) Pat. 3. Edw. I. memb. 34. Mr. C. Trice Martin, F.S.A., has very kindly read this and the preceding document with the originals in the Public Record Office.

pem et pastorem, qui Deo devotus, regimini ecclesiarum predictarum necessarius nobisque et regno nostro utilis et fidelis existat.

In cuius &c.

Teste Rege apud Oveston xx. die Decembris.

you stand bound to us, that you elect such a person for your Bishop and pastor as may be devoted to God and useful and faithful to us and our Kingdom.

In witness whereof we have caused these our letters to be made patent.

Witness ourself at Westminster, the twenty-fourth day of August in the fifty-eighth year of our reign. In warrant under the Queen's sign manual.

MUIR MACKENZIE.

In the later *congé d'élire* the visit to the King's court of the deputation of monks or canons is not spoken of, and in place of the visit there is mentioned only a letter in which supplication is made for leave to elect. Further instances of this may be seen in the *congé d'élire* of William Waynflete [1] and much later in that of Matthew Parker.[2]

In England I have found no trace in the episcopal elections of a practice which is said to be followed by the new Roman Catholic chapters in this country; viz. that of submitting to the Roman Court three names marked respectively *dignus*, *dignior*, *dignissimus*. The best approach to it that I have noticed is in the election of a Warden of All Souls, where two names are submitted to the Archbishop of Canterbury, from which he chooses one.[3] But the rights of these chapters are not always respected; for it is taught by the canonists that as the pope is an autocrat (summus Ecclesiae pastor, princeps, et monarcha [4]), he can revoke the privileges conceded to the chapters of electing their own heads. This was done in choosing a successor to Cardinal Wiseman. The name of Dr. Errington, his coadjutor *cum iure successionis*, was sent to Rome as *dignissimus*, but all three names were disregarded, and Monsignor Manning was appointed to the vacant place, while those who had voted for Dr. Errington were severely punished.[5] From the point of view of the chapters there would seem to be but little to choose between pope and king.

[1] Richard Chandler, *Life of William Waynflete*, London, 1811. Appendix, p. 316.

[2] Denny and Lacey, *De Hierarchia Anglicana*, Londini, 1895. Appendix III. p. 201.

[3] Statutes, p. 13, in *Statutes of the Colleges of Oxford*, Stationery Office, 1853. vol. i. See also Merton, p. 33.

[4] P.M. Passerini de Sextula, *De electione canonica*, Romae, 1661, cap. 1.

[5] See E. S. Purcell, *Life of Cardinal Manning*, London, Macmillan, 1895, first ed. vol. ii. p. 202, chap. x. The history of the Errington case is given in chap. v.

APPENDIX III

Dr. Raine, one of the canons of York, has very kindly given to me a copy of a notice printed at York at the time of the election of the present Archbishop, Dr. Maclagan ; and it is here reproduced to show the order of procedure that is common in many English cathedral churches. At the top of the sheet is printed " York Minster," the crossed keys of St. Peter dividing the two words.

Proceedings on Election of an Archbishop.

1. The Chapter assemble in the Zouche Chapel and proceed to the Chapter House in procession preceded by the Choir singing—" The Church's one Foundation," *verses* 1, 2.

2. The Choir halt and divide in the vestibule, the Chapter passing into the Chapter House.

3. The President declares the Chapter open.

4. The Procession returns to the Choir, the Choir singing the remainder of the Hymn.

5. The Dean gives an address on the subject of the assemblage.

6. The Litany is said.

7. The *Veni Creator* is sung.

8. The Chapter return to the Chapter House, the Choir remaining in their seats.

9. The Apparitor is sworn to the Execution of the Citations, and makes his call three times.

10. The Dean reads a Schedule declaring absent Canons contumacious.

11. The Writ of Congé d'élire and the Letter Missive are read by the Registrar.

12. The Vote is taken, and the Dean reads a Schedule expressing consent.

13. The Dean undertakes to publish the Election.

14. The Dean and Chapter proceed to the Nave, and the Dean publishes the Election.

15. The Dean and Chapter return to the Chapter House.

16. The Election is decreed to be certified to the Queen and the Archbishop-elect.

17. Proctors are appointed to exhibit the Letters certifying the Election.

18. The Dean and Chapter return to the Choir.

19. When the Dean reaches the Choir Gates he turns, and again publishes the Election.

20. The Dean and Chapter enter their stalls.

21. The Dean recites "We Praise Thee, O God," and the Choir proceed with the *Te Deum*.

22. The Prayers for the Queen and for the Archbishop-Elect, Bishops and Clergy are said by the Succentor Vicariorum.

23. The Dean gives the Benediction.

24. The Dean and Chapter proceed to the Chapter House, the Choir preceding them and singing Hymn 302, *verses* 1–3.

25. The Instruments of Election and the Proxies are read and decreed to be Sealed.

26. The Dean and Chapter proceed to the Zouche Chapel where they are Sealed, the Choir preceding them and singing Hymn 302 *verses* 4–6.

A. P. Purey-Cust, *Dean*.

APPENDIX IV

I am indebted to the late Rev. W. Sparrow Simpson, D.D. F.S.A. Sub-dean and Cardinal of St. Paul's, for the courteous help which he gave me in copying the following document, which was in his possession, and the knowledge of which I owe to the Rev. William Russell, M.A. Mus. Bac. late Minor Canon and Almoner of St. Paul's.

The document here printed is evidently of considerable antiquity; and it may be noticed that it appears to be the custom at St. Paul's to elect the Bishop of London by way of compromise, the Dean being the sole compromissor, or, as he is called at St. Paul's, the arbiter.

9th March, 1885.

FORM OF PROCEEDING

ON THE

Election of the Right Reverend Frederick Temple, Lord Bishop of Exeter, to be Bishop of London.

The Dean and Chapter being assembled in the Chapter House at Half-past Eleven o'clock on Monday, the 9th day of March, 1885 (the Bell having been first rung) the Virger appears, and produces the original Citatory Mandate, with a Certificate of the Service thereof endorsed thereon, and a Schedule thereto annexed, containing the names of all the Canons and Prebendaries cited by virtue of such Mandate; the Chapter order Her Majesty's Letters Patent and Letter Recommendatory to be read; which being done, the Canons and Prebendaries having or pretending to have a right, voice, or interest in the Election, are called at the Door to appear and proceed in such Election, if they think fit.

The Dean and the rest of the Chapter assume John Benjamin Lee, Notary Public, to be the Actuary, and also desire William Price Moor, and Harry Wilmot Lee to be Witnesses of the Election.

The Canons and Prebendaries as before mentioned being again called, the Dean with the consent of the rest of the Chapter reads and signs the first Schedule, pronouncing contumacious all the Canons and Prebendaries cited to appear, and not appearing, and decreeing to proceed further in the Business of Election, notwithstanding their absence.

The Dean, with the consent of the rest of the Chapter, reads and signs the Monition and Protestation, or Second Schedule; monishing all persons suspended, excommunicated, and interdicted, or not having business

with the said Election to depart from the Chapter House, and protesting that the voices of such as are absent (if any hereafter shall intervene) afford no assistance or do any prejudice to this Election, and pronouncing the Canons and Prebendaries present to be a full Chapter.

The Dean then publicly declares the Chapter, and sets forth the three Canonical ways of Election, viz. by acclamation, scrutiny, and compromise. If the Chapter agree to proceed by way of scrutiny, the votes are taken. If the Chapter agree to proceed by way of compromise, as heretofore used in Saint Paul's the Canons and Prebendaries agree upon the Dean as Arbiter, upon condition that before he should go from the Chapter House he should choose a fit and lawful man (to whom the major part of the Chapter should seem to incline) as Bishop and Pastor, promising to accept him as Bishop whom the said Arbiter shall think fit to elect. Whereupon the Arbiter accepting the said compromise, he gives his vote and the votes of the rest of his Brethren the Canons and Prebendaries aforesaid, for the Right Reverend Frederick Temple, Doctor in Divinity, now Bishop of Exeter, and thereupon reads and signs the Schedule of Election.

The Dean and Chapter accepting the said Election, and person elected, give power to the Dean to publish, declare, and make known to the Clergy and People the said Election and Person elected, and then grant a proxy to certain persons therein named, to certify the said election, as well to the Lord Bishop elect, with request of his consent, as to our Sovereign Lady the Queen, and also the Most Reverend the Archbishop of Canterbury.

Lastly, the Dean duly publishes, declares, and makes known the said Election and the person elected.

A Comparative Study of the Time in the Christian Liturgy at which the Elements are Prepared and Set on the Holy Table

A Comparative Study of the Time in the Christian Liturgy at which the Elements are Prepared and Set on the Holy Table

Some years ago I was turning over the pages of J. B. Thiers' *Traité des Superstitions ;* and in the tenth chapter of the second volume there was a paragraph in which we were told of a superstitious practice of certain priests in town and country, who, to save time, made the oblation of the bread and wine before they said the gospel and while the choir was singing the grail ; or, after the gospel, while the choir was singing the creed. Soon after, I had occasion to travel in Spain ; and at Toledo I saw the bread and wine prepared and set on the altar at the very beginning of the service in the Mozarabic Chapel. Like many others in England, it maybe, I had knowledge only of liturgies in which the gifts were set on the altar after the expulsion of the catechumens ; and an interest was accordingly excited in practices that seemed to me so unusual. I was thereby led to collect evidence from liturgies and uses upon two points : first, the liturgical moment at which the gifts (or symbols as the French ritualists call them) are prepared ; and next, the time at which they are set on the altar, or offered.

As a result of these studies, the opinion was formed that in the primitive liturgy the preparation of the bread

and the wine took place at some time before the liturgy began; that they were both prepared at the same moment, the preparation of the one not being separated from the preparation of the other; and that the time at which the prepared gifts were set on the altar was immediately before the anaphora and after the expulsion of the catechumens, the setting of the gifts on the altar being also closely connected with the kiss of peace. In much later times this setting of the gifts on the altar went before or followed the recitation of the creed.

The prosecution of the Bishop of Lincoln for certain ceremonial practices caused much discussion about the time in the Christian Liturgy at which the elements are prepared; and it seemed to me that it might be a useful attempt to digest into a paper, even if imperfect, the notes made before this discussion began, upon the time of the preparation of the bread and wine, and of the setting of these upon the altar. The criticisms upon the Lincoln Judgement which appeared on its delivery showed that in most cases the writers had no idea of the facts of the case, and that elementary information might serve a useful purpose if laid before those who had any desire to learn. These notes, then, make no pretence at a complete or exhaustive examination of the subject; but they represent what may be found in early printed missals, as well as in some of the eastern service books, and the commentators on them. Throughout the work the need of much greater knowledge of the eastern books and of more careful editions of these liturgies has been borne in upon me: with the mediæval missals, the absence of full ceremonial details is very remarkable; and in several cases, the danger of drawing conclusions from the absence of directions has been very well illustrated. In documents contemporaneous with one another the directions omitted in some are given in full in others.

I.—THE EASTERN LITURGIES.

The ceremonies connected with the celebration of the Christian Eucharist are hardly spoken of by the writers of the New Testament. A very early father, however, St. Justin Martyr, gives a clear account, surprisingly full when we consider the circumstances under which it was written, of the main features of the Liturgy in the first half of the second century. He speaks of the reading of the prophets and apostles at the beginning of the Liturgy, followed by instructions; then of the prayers for all men, and the kiss of peace; in close connexion with which last he speaks of bringing into the assembly, to the president of the brethren, bread and a cup of wine mixed with water.[1] This is the first mention in history of the offertory,[2] and it may be noted that as first described the ceremony takes place when the scripture readings and prayers have been finished, and immediately after the kiss of peace. The celebrant himself takes the elements; but the chalice would seem to have been already mixed when it was brought into the assembly of the faithful.

St. Cyril of Jerusalem, in his well-known lectures to the new-baptized, does not speak of the preparation of the elements, nor of their being offered, unless indeed it be maintained that he does so by implication in quoting St. Matthew v. 23.

Let us next examine the Liturgy which has been preserved in the Apostolical Constitutions, and which is usually known by the name of the Clementine. It much resembles in its arrangement the service described by

[1] C. A. Swainson, *The Greek Liturgies*, Cambridge, 1884. p. 207.

[2] The word *offertory* may be conveniently limited to the ceremonial setting of the bread and wine on the altar. It seems as if this were its first meaning. *Antiphona ad Offerenda* is the early expression, just as we have *antiphona ad introitum*, and *antiphona ad communionem*. (See Tomasi, *Opera omnia*, ed. Vezzosi, Rome, 1750. t. v. p. 3.) The word is often used only of an anthem, but it has a more extended meaning. "Das Offertorium begreift alle Gebete und Ceremonien, die mit dem Brode und Weine vorgenommen werden, bis man sie von der Prothesis auf den Altar tragt." (Georg Adam Keyser, *Kurzer Abriss der Russischen Kirche*, Erfurt, 1788. p. 97.)

Justin Martyr. We find, after the dismissal of the catechumens and the prayers, a direction in the Greek text as follows : these things being done, let the deacons bring the gifts to the bishop at the altar, and the presbyters stand on his right hand and on his left, like disciples around a master.[1] There is, however, no mention of the preparation of the elements.

In the second book of the Apostolical Constitutions, there is also an account of a liturgy ; but in this the setting of the bread and wine before the celebrant, or on the altar, is not described with any clearness.[2] It is even less distinct in the Ethiopic Version,[3] though in the Coptic Version, Dr. Swainson's reading is as follows : "After the salutation and the kiss of peace, the deacons present the offering to the newly-made bishop ; he puts his hand upon it with the presbyters, and says the eucharistia."[4]

Then there is the liturgy described by Pseudo-Dionysius. He speaks of the reading of scripture, the expulsion of the catechumens, and the setting of the holy bread and cup of blessing upon the divine altar. He gives no account of the preparation of the elements. It may be noted that, in this liturgy, the kiss of peace follows the setting of the bread and wine on the altar.[5]

There appears to be no description of the offertory or of the preparation of the gifts in the Sacramentary of Serapion.[6]

There would seem to be evidence in the liturgies of

[1] *Constitutiones Apostolicæ*, lib. viii. cap. 12. ed. Guil. Ueltzen, Suerini et Rostochii, 1853. p. 206.

[2] Lib. ii. cap. 57. p. 66.

[3] Thomas Pell Platt, *The Ethiopic Didascalia*, London, 1834. Oriental Translation Fund, p. 96.

[4] Smith and Cheetham's *Dictionary of Christian Antiquities*, Lond. 1880. vol. ii. p. 1021. Dr. Tattam's translation is different from this in many particulars. (Henry Tattam, *The Apostolical Constitutions . . in Coptic*, London, 1848. Oriental Translation Fund, p. 32.)

[5] Pseudo-Dionysius : in Claude de Sainctes, *Liturgiæ, sive Missæ sanctorum Patrum*, Antverpiæ, Chr. Plantin, 1560, fo. 67.

[6] F. E. Brightman, *Journal of Theological Studies*, 1899. vol. i. part i. p. 104. John Wordsworth, Bishop of Salisbury, *Bishop Serapion's Prayer-Book*, S.P.C.K. 1899. p. 38.

the first four or five centuries that the setting of the bread and wine on the altar followed the reading of portions of the scriptures, and the expulsion of the catechumens; that it was closely connected with the kiss of peace; and immediately preceded the more solemn eucharistic prayer or anaphora. In fact, this is the opinion expressed by Renaudot in the dissertation prefixed to his collection of liturgies,[1] and by Sir William Palmer.[2] It would seem, then, that even thus early, the time for setting the elements on the altar is defined, that it was at the beginning of the *missa fidelium* or anaphora; while on the other hand it may be noticed that we have at this period but scanty information concerning the time of the preparation of the elements. In the liturgies which follow, this want is supplied; but a considerable change will be found in one or two families in the time at which the gifts are set upon the altar or holy table.

All liturgical students are aware of the claim to great antiquity which is made on behalf of the liturgy of St. James. In this service, the gifts are brought in immediately after the expulsion of the catechumens, and therefore, after the reading of the scripture lessons and the intercessory prayer. At this point, all the four texts printed by Dr. Swainson, the earliest being the Messina Roll[3] (A.D. 983) agree that the gifts are brought in and the cherubic hymn is sung; and that after the gifts have been set on the altar or holy table, the priest says a certain prayer, which is common to all the texts. I find nothing in any of the texts which suggests a ceremony like that of the prothesis, or of the great entrance at Constantinople. I hardly feel inclined to agree with Mr. Hammond in his

[1] Euseb. Renaudot, *Liturgiarum Orientalium Collectio*, Paris, 1716. t. i. p. vij.

[2] William Palmer, *Origines Liturgicæ*, London, 1845. 4th ed. vol. i. p. 13.

[3] C. A. Swainson, *The Greek Liturgies*, Cambridge, 1884. p. 238. Cf. p. xxxv. of Introduction. The original of this part has now disappeared; and for a knowledge of it we are indebted to the notes made by Monaldini for Assemani.

view that this order does not represent the original order of St. James' Liturgy, because the Syriac St. James is different.[1] The præ-anaphoral parts of the Syriac Liturgy have nothing in common with the Greek St. James, nothing beyond the usual liturgical features, and I do not see why the Syriac service should not be later than the Greek.

The elder Assemani has printed a description of St. James' Liturgy, written by James, of Edessa, a Monophysite bishop of the sixth century[2]; but, unhappily, there is in this no account either of the preparation or of the offertory.[3] According to the treatise on the Liturgy of St. James, ascribed to St. John Maro, the founder of the Maronites in the seventh century, but ascribed by modern writers to Dionysius Barsalibæus,[4] the bread and wine are placed on the altar after the reading of the gospel and expulsion of the catechumens. There can be no doubt that the bread was in small cakes, and the wine mixed with water; but at what point the elements were prepared cannot be distinctly inferred.[5]

In the Syriac liturgy of St. James there are two præ-anaphoral forms, and in both the elements are prepared and set on the altar before the beginning of the *missa catechumenorum*. In the first, the priest having laid aside his daily dress, and approached the altar, takes from the deacon the eucharistic bread, signs it, recites a prayer over it, multiplies it as much as may be needful, censes it, and then offers it on the altar. The priest then pours wine into the chalice, and after that a little water, censes the two veils, and with them covers the chalice and the paten. The mass of the catechumens then begins.[6]

[1] C. E. Hammond, *Liturgies Eastern and Western*, Oxford, 1878. p. 32, note 3.

[2] Smith & Wace, *Dictionary of Christian Biography*, Lond. 1882. vol. iii. p. 328.

[3] J. S. Assemani, *Bibliotheca Orientalis*, Romæ, 1719. t. i. p. 479.

[4] Smith & Wace, *Dictionary of Christian Biography*, Lond. 1882. vol. iii. p. 357.

[5] J. A. Assemani, *Codex Liturgicus Ecclesiæ Universæ*, Romæ, 1752. lib. iv. pars ii. t. v. pp. 246 and 267. See capp. vi. xvi. xvii. xviii. of the Exposition.

[6] Renaudot, *op. cit.* t. ii. p. 1 *et seq.*

The description of Etheridge would lead one to believe that, in this first præ-anaphoral part, when the priest lays aside his ordinary clothes and washes his hands, he also takes the eucharistic vestments.[1] This is not, however, the case in the second order. Here the priest goes up to the altar and mixes the wine and water in the cup. He then prepares the bread in the paten, washes his hands, kisses the oblation, sets it in the paten, and lifts up the chalice containing the wine and water. After some penitential prayers, the priest lays aside his daily dress, and takes the eucharistic vestments, and the *missa catechumenorum* begins.[2]

In the narrative of the papal envoy in the seventeenth century, the Maronites are very distinctly said to offer the bread and wine before they take the vestments. The word *offer* would imply that the elements are set on the altar at this time. There is no account of the preparation of the bread or of the chalice.[3] Martène, rather strangely, favours the opinion that the Maronites offer the elements after the epistle because, at this point, the priest exclaims: *Ferte oblationes.*[4] It seems, however, that the sentence quoted by Martène is only another version of the 8th and 9th verses of the 95th (Engl. 96th) Psalm.

It must be owned that the history of the office of the prothesis and of the great entrance in the liturgy of Constantinople is sufficiently obscure. That the office of the prothesis existed in the twelfth century, there can be no doubt; for we find it in the version made by Leo Thuscus, though the prayers are much less developed than at the present day.[5] How long before the twelfth

[1] J. W. Etheridge, *The Syrian Churches*, London, 1846. p. 198.

[2] Renaudot, *op. cit.* t. ii. p. 12.

[3] Jerome Dandini, *Voyage du Mont Liban*, traduit de l'Italien par R. S. P. Ch. xxiv. Paris, 1675. p. 110.

[4] Martène, *de antiquis ecclesiæ ritibus*, lib. 1, cap. iv. art. iv. § x. Bassani, 1788. t. i. p. 136.

[5] See Claude de Sainctes, *Liturgiæ, sive Missæ SS. Patrum*, Antverpiæ, 1560. fo. 49.

century the custom of preparing the bread and wine at the prothesis existed, we cannot exactly say. At the present day, the bread and wine are set on the prothesis, the priest and his ministers vest, and then go to the prothesis, where they prepare the bread by cutting up the holy loaf; and afterwards the chalice by pouring wine and water[1] into the cup. The prepared elements are left upon the prothesis until the liturgy be so far advanced that the gospel has been said, and the catechumens expelled. Then the cherubic hymn is sung, and the priest and deacon bring the elements from the prothesis, accompanied by incense and lights. They go round the nave, pass into the bema by the holy doors, and then set the gifts upon the Holy Table.

It may be here particularly noticed that in small churches, or wayside chapels, the Holy Table itself serves as a prothesis. "There is commonly but one poor Altar or Table made up of Brick, or Stone, or Earth (and repair'd against the day, if decay'd, or any part be broken down) and that serves both for a *Prothesis* and a *Holy Table* too. The Priest having first prepared the Elements and *Portions* upon it, and laid them in the Dish, and put the wine and water in the Cup, he carries them in the manner before said, and makes his procession from

[1] There is not the least evidence that the water used in the office of the prothesis is hot. It is hardly credible that anyone could possibly confound the mixing of the chalice, which is part of the preparation of the elements, with the addition of boiling water, that takes place after consecration in the Greek rite. Yet Mr. Malan has done this. "Albeit the Greek and Romish Churches with others of the East, use the mixed chalice, they yet quarrel among themselves, as do the Greek and the Romish, about the quantity and the temperature of water to be mixed with the wine: whether a few or many drops, hot, warm, or cold; while the Armenian Church and the Jacobite Syrians use pure wine of the best sort to be had." (S. C. Malan, *The two holy Sacraments*, London, Nutt, 1881. note ii. pp. 259 and 268.) The statement that the Jacobite Syrians do not use the mixed chalice is admitted by Mr. Malan to be based upon an accusation of a bitter enemy (p. 269), which the Jacobite Syrians themselves indignantly deny. It seems so universally acknowledged at the present day that all communities of Christians, with the exception of the Armenians, have used the mixed chalice, that it is waste of time in this paper to give evidence for a fact so surely established and so widely recognized.

that Altar, fetching a Compass among the people to it again." [1] And Mr. D'arcy has pointed out to me that Renaudot, in a passage which may refer to the whole East, speaks of the setting of the bread and cup on the altar before the Εἴσοδος or great entrance as being possible "in pauperrimis ecclesiis." [2]

Of the ceremonies practised in the Armenian Liturgy it is exceedingly troublesome to form any precise opinion owing to the opposing statements made by writers on this subject. From the time of Le Brun to the present moment there has been considerable variation on this head among liturgical writers; and the only point on which they seem to agree is that the Armenians do not mix water with the wine in preparing the elements. According to Mr. S. C. Malan, the gifts are brought by a deacon to the credence table or table of oblation, and prepared after the *Confiteor* and *Iudica* which have been introduced into this liturgy under Roman influence, and before the priest approaches the Holy Table. The gifts are left covered on the table of oblation until after the expulsion of the catechumens, and they are brought to the Holy Table at the beginning of the *missa fidelium*, before the kiss of peace,[3] in an elaborate procession after the manner of the great entrance. Much the same account is given by Dr. James Issaverdens; this writer describes the credence as "the Niche on the left of the sanctuary." [4] But in the extract given by Mr. Malan from the *Travels* of Muravieff [5] the chief altar in the

[1] John Covel, *Some account of the present Greek Church*, Cambridge, 1722 p. 34.

[2] Renaudot, *op. cit.* ii. 56.

[3] S. C. Malan, *The Divine Liturgy of the Armenian Church*, London 1870. p. 24.

[4] James Issaverdens, *Sacred Rites and Ceremonies of the Armenian Church* Venice, 1876. p. 48. The writer is an Armenian in communion wi Rome.

[5] Vol. ii. p. 77, quoted by Malan, *op. cit.* p. 4 of introduction. "What is singular enough at that particular time, the chief altar served for a credence table." During this preparation or oblation "a curtain, which extends the whole length of the altar, is drawn."

cathedral church of Etchmiadzin is spoken of as serving on one occasion at least as the place of preparation. If this be a correct description, it affords an interesting parallel (only in a cathedral church) to the custom in the Constantinopolitan rite described by Covel as existing in poor country places where no prothesis exists.

To the three liturgies called Nestorian there seems to be but one præ-anaphoral form, and in this there is no account of the preparation of the elements, but the liturgy begins at once with the *missa catechumenorum*. For an account of this preparation, I am indebted to the Right Rev. A. J. Maclean, formerly Head of the Archbishop's Mission at Urmi, but now Bishop of Moray and Ross. I have drawn both from his printed[1] account of the Customs of the Eastern Syrians, and from a letter which he sent me, with great courtesy, in November 1887, in answer to an application for information with which I had troubled him. He writes : " There is a preparation in the chamber[2] which is always by the side of the *Kanké* (Sanctuary) in the East Syrian churches of the bread and the wine for the *Kourbana* or Eucharist. It is before the beginning of the Liturgy. The Priest himself takes the dough, mixes leaven (supposed to be handed down from the Last Supper[3]), salt and olive oil with it, and bakes it in a special oven, then makes it into little cakes, which he stamps with a cross (with a wooden stamp) and puts on the patten. The chalice is then mixed, and the priest and deacon then proceed into the Kanké (Sanctuary). The patten is placed on the north side of the Kanké in a niche, the chalice similarly on the south side. The ele-

[1] See *Guardian*, March 7, 1888. p. 342.

[2] Compare the building on the north side of the Ethiopian churches used or exactly the same purposes. (Francisco Alvarez, *Narrative of the Portuguese Embassy to Abyssinia*, ed. Lord Stanley of Alderley, Hakluyt Society, 1881, ch. xii. p. 28.)

[3] Compare the particle set on the altar from the last Mass in the old Roman Rite. (*Ordo Romanus I.* in Mabillon, *Museum Italicum*, Lut. Paris. 1724. t. ii. p. 41.) Doubts are felt by some if this be a consecrated particle.

ments are placed on the altar after the expulsion of the catechumens, but not immediately, as two prayers intervene." The bread is baked, it may be noted, and the chalice mixed at the same time; and they are set in niches hard by the altar before the *missa catechumenorum* begins. All accounts agree in declaring that the elements remain in these niches, and are not set on the altar until some time after the gospel. But the authorities differ as to the exact time after the gospel. According to Dr. Badger, the chalice and paten are taken from the prothesis by the priest immediately after the gospel, while the deacon is reciting the ectene; and after saying two prayers, the priest sets the paten and chalice on the altar, and with them it may be allowed to suppose the elements, and then carefully covers them with a napkin.[1] The expulsion of the catechumens takes place after this.[2] I am informed that Dr. Badger's account represents the present Chaldean customs.

In the translation of Renaudot the sexton and deacon (not the priest, as Dr. Badger says) bring the paten and chalice to the altar immediately after the expulsion of the catechumens, and prayers are then said which speak of the gifts; but I do not find in Renaudot[3] the prayers which Dr. Badger has printed, and to which Dr. Maclean alludes.

The liturgy used by the Malabar Christians, before the Synod of Diamper, is not exactly known to us. Mr. Hammond tells us that "it was evidently all but identical with the liturgy of SS. Adæus and Maris, of the Nestorians of Mesopotamia."[4] Though this may be true in most points, yet the setting of the bread and wine on the altar is, in the "reformed" liturgy, in a different place from that of the liturgy of SS. Adæus and Maris, as given by Renaudot and the other witnesses.

[1] George Percy Badger, *The Nestorians and their Rituals*, London, 1852. vol. ii. p. 218.

[2] See p. 220. [3] Renaudot, *op. cit.* ii. 586.

[4] C. E. Hammond, *Liturgies, Eastern and Western*, Oxford, 1878. p. xxiii. of Introduction.

In this liturgy the ectene comes very early, as soon as the opening psalm and prayer have been said : and while the deacon recites the ectene (as in Dr. Badger's account of the Syrian Liturgy) the priest, in the middle of the altar, takes the paten and the chalice into his hands. It does not appear where these vessels have been hitherto. Then the chalice is prepared ; first, wine is poured into the cup, then water, and again wine. The chalice is then set on the altar towards the south. The priest then goes to the north and takes the bread, which he puts upon the paten, and raising it with both hands goes to the middle of the altar, and takes the prepared chalice in his right hand, and finally sets both elements on the altar. After some versicles, the offerings are covered, and the priest washes his hands. A prayer, in which the gifts are mentioned, is then said, and the expulsion of the catechumens then follows. After the expulsion of the catechumens, the scripture lessons are read with the creed. Immediately before the anaphora begins, the elements are uncovered.[1]

In dealing with this arrangement of liturgical parts we must not forget the chance that a great dislocation may have taken place when the liturgy was " reformed " about the time of the Synod of Diamper, and that until we succeed in recovering the ancient liturgy, speculation will be more or less fruitless. It may be that the ectene, and with it the offertory, was moved from the place which they once had. In the earlier liturgy they may have had a place as Dr. Badger describes them, but as de Glen and Raulin print them now, they take place early, almost as soon as the liturgy is begun.

In the Alexandrine liturgies, both in the *Codex Rossanensis* (A.D. 1160) and the *Rotulus Vaticanus* (A.D. 1207),

[1] I. B. de Glen, *La Messe des anciens Chrestiens dicts de S. Thomas*, Bruxelles, Rutger Velpius, 1609. pp. 81–89. Jo. Facundi Raulin, *Historia Ecclesiæ Malabaricæ*, Romæ, 1745. pp. 293–312. Compare the later edition, *The Liturgy of the Holy Apostles Adai and Mari*, Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1893.

printed by Dr. Swainson, the gifts are brought to the altar, very near to the same time as in St. James' liturgy: that is, immediately after the expulsion of the catechumens, and while the cherubic hymn is being sung.[1] But in the *Rotulus Vaticanus* there are three prayers at the beginning of the liturgy, Εὐχὴ τῆς προθέσεως, the first of which is the same as one of those now said in the Constantinopolitan rite, while the priest is dividing the bread; the second is a prayer of incense; and the third contains a distinct allusion to the bread and wine being then present.[2] It would thus appear that at the time in the history of the Alexandrine liturgy which corresponds to the *Rotulus Vaticanus*, there was an office of the prothesis, and the *Rotulus Vaticanus* would also seem to represent a text earlier than the date of the manuscript.

In neither of these texts do the rubrics direct a mixing of the chalice, but their directions for the treatment of the holy gifts are very scanty. In the two other texts, *Canon Universalis Aethiopum* and *Liturgia Coptitarum Sancti Basilii*, there are prayers of proposition in which it is implied that the chalice is already mixed: *mistum in hoc calice*.[3]

Somewhat like this last is the present practice of the Copts. Mr. Butler points out as a vital distinction between the Greek and the Coptic Sanctuary that the Greeks have one altar and a prothesis; and the Copts have three altars in each sanctuary and apparently no prothesis.[4] And the absence of a prothesis agrees with their ceremonial. Before the celebration of the liturgy, the altar is made ready; and several loaves are brought to the priest at the altar; choosing one,[5] he prepares it and

[1] Swainson, *op. cit.* p. 22 and pp. xviii. and xx. of the Introduction.

[2] Swainson, *op. cit.* p. 2. [3] Swainson, *op. cit.* p. 7.

[4] Alfred J. Butler, *The Ancient Coptic Churches of Egypt*, Oxford, 1884. vol. i. p. 32. Mr. Butler's account of the liturgy (ii. pp. 282–288) agrees closely with that of Lord Bute.

[5] Compare the practice when the Pope celebrates pontifically of presenting three hosts, one of which is taken; the others are eaten by the sacrist, as a precaution against poison. (Mabillon, *Musei Italici*, t. ii. Lutet. Paris. 1724. In ordinem romanum commentarius, p. xlvi.)

kisses it and lays it on the altar; he sees if the wine be good, and washes his hands. He takes the bread in a silken veil, and walks once round the altar with it, preceded by one of the deacons carrying the vessel of wine. Having finished the circuit, and reached the front of the altar, he signs the bread and wine, and puts the bread into the paten, and the wine into the chalice, adding a little water. Next follow the lessons from Scripture, and the prayers for all men; then the kiss of peace, and the anaphora; but before this latter the priest uncovers his head, and removes the great veil from the bread and wine.[1]

In the Æthiopic liturgy, during the sixteenth century at least, the elements appear to have been set on the altar at the outset of the service. After the altar and all things have been prepared, there is a form for the offering of the bread on the altar; then a prayer when wine and water are poured into the chalice by the deacon, and the chalice has then the same form said over it as over the obley. The liturgy begins. This is the part marked as *missa catechumenorum* by Mr. Hammond[2]; after a little, the epistles, a lesson from the Acts of the Apostles, and the gospel are read, followed by the prayers for all men, by the creed and the kiss of peace. But before the preface begins, I can find no other allusion to the elements, even in so rudimentary a form as a direction to uncover them,[3] though this seems to be done immediately before conse-

[1] John, Marquess of Bute, *The Coptic Morning Service for the Lord's Day*, 1882. pp. 36, 38, and 77. The rubrics of Renaudot (*Liturgiarum Orientalium Collectio*, Parisiis, 1716. t. i. pp. 3 and 13) give no account of the procession with the gifts round the altar, nor of the removal of the great veil, with which, however, the gifts have been covered since the prayer of proposition (p. 3).

[2] Hammond, *op. cit.* p. 242.

[3] *Missa qua Ethiopes communiter utuntur, quæ etiam canon universalis appellatur, nunc primum ex Lingua Chaldea sive Aethiopica in Latinam conversa*, Romæ, apud Antonium Bladum, 1549. The rubrics in this pamphlet leave no doubt that the elements are set on the altar early in the service, and not elsewhere; in Renaudot (i. 499) the rubrics are less distinct.

cration in the account of Francisco Alvarez.[1] He notes the shortness of the service; and indeed a very much longer form of the præ-anaphoral part of the Æthiopic service has been printed by Dr. Swainson from two manuscripts taken at Magdala in 1868. In both, the time of the setting of the bread and wine on the altar has been preserved as in the time of Francisco Alvarez, though one manuscript is of the seventeenth, and the other of the eighteenth century.[2] In this the cover of the disc is ordered to be taken away directly after the creed.

If we look back over these Eastern liturgies we shall find, without exception where we have information, that the preparation of both elements takes place simultaneously before the *missa catechumenorum* begins. In the Byzantine liturgy the mixing of the chalice and the division of the bread go on together, and are apparently of equal importance. It is the same in the Syriac liturgy of St. James. In the East Syrian the baking of the bread and the mixing of the chalice take place together. Amongst the Copts the bread is prepared and the chalice mixed at the same time. It seems impossible to describe the East Syrian practice as a ceremonial act; and in the other rites we see the preparation in its early and primitive form, a mere preliminary breaking up of the bread, and an adding of water to the wine, before the service began. If one be rigidly ceremonious, the other must be so too.

Now, although the elements are prepared at the beginning of the service, yet they are not set on the altar itself until after the expulsion of the catechumens, in the earliest liturgies or accounts of them that have come down to us; yet in the later liturgies, which are derivatives from the earlier, this time of setting the elements on the altar is put forward in the service, and made to take place

[1] Francisco Alvarez, *Narrative of the Portuguese Embassy to Abyssinia during the years* 1520–1527, ed. Lord Stanley of Alderley, Hakluyt Society, 1881. pp. 24–26.

[2] Swainson, *op. cit.* pp. 358 and lii.

at the same moment as the preparation. This joining together of two distinct liturgical acts is not particular to the East. We shall see it again in many of the Western uses. It does not seem to be a primitive practice. For at a time when the expulsion of the catechumens was a reality and the division between the *missa catechumenorum* and the *missa fidelium* marked, and the *disciplina arcani* in full force, every care would be taken to hide the prepared elements from the sight of the unbaptized.[1] Even now in the Constantinopolitan rite the preparation of the elements is not seen by the general congregation ; the chapel of the prothesis is divided from the nave by a wall. Important in this respect is the account given by Covel [2] of the custom of the Greeks of making the holy table into a prothesis when no prothesis exists, as in country places or wayside chapels, where there is not the usual furniture of a well-provided church. The Greeks in that case combine the two liturgical acts of preparing the elements and setting them on the altar. It may be that the present custom of the Maronites, Copts, and Ethiopians has arisen from a like stress of circumstances. No prothesis was at hand ; and the holy table itself was used as a place of preparation ; and then the act first suggested by convenience crystallized into a custom.

II.—THE WESTERN LITURGIES TO THE END OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY.

We may now turn to the liturgies of the West, of which there are only two great families : the Gallican and the Roman.

[1] One of the Canons of the Council of Valentia in Spain, held in the sixth century, would seem to imply that if the gifts be brought in early in the service, the expulsion of the catechumens must also take place early, before the gifts be brought in. See below, part II. p. 108. In the Armenian service it has been seen that a curtain is drawn before the altar during the preparation of the gifts.

[2] See above, p. 98.

The Gallican liturgy was used in Gaul and Spain, if not elsewhere; and in Gaul, our chief authorities for the ceremonial of the early Gallican liturgy are the treatise ascribed to St. German of Paris [1] and the collection of allusions to the liturgy made from early writers by Ruinart.[2] Some details may also be found in the canons of councils.

From the treatise of St. German it appears that the dismissal of the catechumens took place before the gifts were brought in; that before the gifts were brought into the church an anthem was sung; that the bread (called *Corpus Domini*, though not yet hallowed) was brought in a vessel like a tower to the altar; and very possibly in the same vessel was the chalice.[3] They were brought to the altar by deacons, and greeted by anticipatory adoration [4]; it would seem that some kind of procession like the great entrance of the Eastern rites took place from the door of the church to the altar. Water was mixed with the wine, but I have been unable to find any direct documentary evidence for the time at which the mixing took place. Mgr. Duchesne tells us that the gifts were prepared before the celebrant came in [5]: and though he does not give his authority for this statement, it seems to be likely enough in itself.[6] Whatever evidence there is points, I would suggest, to this view, and though each single piece of evidence may not in itself prove much, yet taken together in all, their weight can hardly be neglected. The pax was separated from the offertory by the recitation of the names of the

[1] Edm. Martène and Urs. Durand, *Thesaurus novus Anecdotorum*, Lutet. Paris. 1717. t. v. p. 91. It has been often reprinted.

[2] Ruinart, in Martin Bouquet, *Scriptores rer. Gall.* Paris. 1739. ii. 92. A different interpretation may be given to the facts which Ruinart quotes to prove his position that the expulsion of the catechumens took place after the offertory.

[3] Cf. F. J. Mone, *Lateinische und Griechische Messen*, Frankfurt a/M. 1850. p. 5.

[4] Gregory of Tours, *de Gloria Martyrum*, I. 86.

[5] L. Duchesne, *Origines du culte chrétien*, Paris, 1889. p. 195.

[6] See below the account of the Stowe Missal at beginning of part IV. p. 147.

departed (*diptychs*), and followed by *sursum corda* and the rest of the liturgy.

If we compare the account given by St. Isidore of Sevile with the treatise of St. German, we find certain points of resemblance in the two; and there can be no doubt that St. Isidore describes a liturgy which has many features in common with St. German's. The Isidorean account begins with the offertory, and an anthem was sung at this time as in Gaul; but there is nothing said of the gifts until the moment of communion is reached. The mixed cup is here spoken of, but nothing is said about the time or place of mixing,[1] or of the time of setting the gifts on the altar. It would seem, however, that before St. Isidore a movement had begun in favour of the practice of setting the gifts on the altar early in the service, a practice which would cause an early expulsion of the catechumens. For a council held at Valentia, in Spain, in the sixth century, orders that the gospel shall be read before the gifts are brought in, so that the catechumens may hear the salutary precepts of the epistle, gospel, and sermon.[2]

From the seventh century to the end of the fifteenth there is little information at hand upon the text of the Spanish liturgy, or its accompanying ceremonies. Cardinal Ximenes published the first edition of the Mozarabic Missal in 1500, and though the manuscripts of this liturgy are no doubt very important, yet hitherto very little has been done for their editing.[3] In discussing the preparation of the gifts in the Mozarabic rite, I am aware that a subject is being dealt with on which varying views

[1] Beatissimi Isidori quondam Archiepiscopi, *de officiis ecclesiasticis*, lib. i. capp. 14–18. Ed. I. Cochleus, Venice, 1564. This treatise is exceedingly well known to all liturgical students. It is conveniently printed in Hittorp's collection of early tracts.

[2] J. Saenz de Aguirre, *Collectio maxima conciliorum omnium Hispaniæ*, Romæ, 1753. Ed. Catalani, t. iii. p. 175. See also Carl Joseph von Hefele, *Conciliengeschichte*, Freiburg, 1873. 2te. Auflage, Bd. ii. S. 709.

[3] There must be excepted the important work of Dom Marius Férotin, O.S.B. (*Le Liber Ordinum*, Paris, Firmin-Didot, 1904, in *Monumenta Ecclesiae Liturgica*, vol. v.).

have once been expressed. One cause of difference of opinion has been, I think, a certain unfamiliarity with the rite, which needs some study before its intricate arrangements can be well understood ; and there is also the fact that Ximenes and those editors which follow him, print the invariable parts of the service in three different places of the book. A sound opinion can hardly be formed during a hasty examination of one particular edition.

Taking Leslie's edition as the most convenient for reference, we find at the beginning of the book the whole service for the first Sunday of Advent, printed from the *officium* (Roman introit) to the thanksgiving after communion (pp. 1–7, line 75). Then much further on, from p. 217, line 80 to p. 220, line 80, we have all the private prayers of the priest, from the time that he enters the vestry to the end of mass, given in consecutive order.[1] Immediately after the private prayers follow the prayers recited publicly from the *officium* to the end of the service (p. 220, line 80 ; to p. 234, line 18), called *Missa omnium offerentium*. There is the division between the two masses marked by *Incipit missa* (p. 224, line 63), when the mass of the faithful begins. These three parts must be read as if they were printed in parallel columns, one by the side of the other.

It is among the private prayers of the priest that we find the full directions for preparing the elements. After the prayers at vesting, and approaching the altar, *confiteor* and some collects, we have a prayer, *ad extendendum corporalia ;* then follow prayers at wiping the chalice, for pouring wine into the chalice, the blessing of the water,

[1] It has been known rom the time of Pierre Le Brun, in 1715, if not earlier, that these private prayers are borrowed from the Romano-Toletan Missal. (*Explication de la Messe*, Ve. Dissertation, Art. II. § 1, Paris, 1777. t. iii. p. 301.) The ceremonies which they accompany are probably much older than the prayers. Eugenio de Robles, who lived only a century after Ximenes, tells us that the Cardinal added to the Mozarabic office confiteor, the prayer to the cross, and the others said before the introit. (Eug. de Robles, *Compendio de la Vida . . . Ximenez de Cisneros*, etc. Toledo, 1604. p. 321.)

and the setting of the host upon the paten (p. 219, lines 33–67). Then follow prayers to be said before the gospel. Thus far I presume all would be agreed; that in the days of Ximenes the preparation of the elements took place some time between the approach of the priest to the altar, and the reading of the gospel. No exact moment for the preparation is given in the private prayers. But in the third part (p. 223, line 1) there is a rubric between two of the lessons, directing wine to be poured into the chalice while the epistle is read. From this it has been inferred that the whole preparation always took place at this point in the service. Seeing that in many other western rites the preparation took place between the epistle and gospel it seems a very likely opinion that the Mozarabic preparation, in some cases, took place here. But we must not exclude the evidence given to us by tradition, which places the preparation very much earlier in the service; in fact following close upon *confiteor*, and as soon as the priest goes up to the altar. I may add the notes which I made during the service at Toledo, in March, 1884. "After *confiteor*, the host was brought; then the priest mixed the wine and water in the chalice, and set the vessels in the middle of the altar; then went to the epistle corner; a chaplain at the eagle afterwards read a lesson, another the epistle, then the altar book was moved to the gospel side to which the celebrant went, etc." [1]

In the Mexican reprint by Lorenzana, the treatise prefixed by him to the *Missa Gothica* plainly contemplates the preparation of the gifts before the beginning of the *Missa omnium offerentium*, as the priest goes up to the altar; and there is no mention of it between the lessons [2]; though in the text of the mass the direction remains. The edition published at Rome, by Azevedo, for Lorenzana, in 1804, speaks in the notes of the preparation

[1] I am forced to use the modern expressions, "gospel side," "epistle side," as the Mozarabic chapel does not orientate.

[2] *Missa Gothica*, Angelopoli, 1770. pp. 81 and 89.

before the service only.[1] And in the later reprint of Lorenzana,[2] the preparation of the elements is plainly directed to take place immediately after *confiteor ;* and the service then passes on to the *officium.* The direction to pour wine into the chalice before the gospel is omitted. The tradition at Salamanca is the same,[3] the other remaining Mozarabic centre in Spain. And Du Pin, the author of the well-known treatise on the ancient Spanish liturgy, sets down the moment before the *officium* or introit as the place for the mixing of the chalice.[4] So also Pierre Le Brun, but with the preparation at the epistle given as an alternative practice.[5]

It would seem plain, then, that in the Mozarabic Rite there are two places at which the preparation of the elements may take place ; one, while the epistle is being read ; the other, before the service begins. According to Hernandez de Viera, the first is associated with high mass, the second with low mass ; and this is not an unlikely statement,[6] for we shall presently see that this distinction between the ceremonies of high and low mass prevailed in several dioceses and monastic orders.

It has been said before that in the sixth century a Spanish Council ordered that the gifts should be brought in after the gospel, and this order could only have been

[1] *Missale Gothicum*, Romæ, 1804, col. 1328.

[2] *Missæ Gothicæ et Officii Muzarabici dilucida expositio a D. D. Francisco Antonio Lorenzana*, editio novissima, Santos ab Arciniega, Toleti, Lopez Fando, 1875. pp. 23 and 27.

[3] *Rubricas generales de la Missa Gothica-Muzarabe* . . . por Don Francisco Jacobo Hernandez de Viera, Salamanca, T. G. Honorato de la Cruz, 1772, pp. xxxviii. and xliv.

[4] Ioannes Pinius, *Tractatus Historico-chronologicus de liturgia antiqua hispanica*, Cap. ix. § x. 470, in Bianchini's edition of Thomasius. (Romæ, 1741, t. i. p. xcii.) The treatise also appears in the Bollandist *Acta*, July 25.

[5] Pierre Le Brun, *op. cit.* p. 309.

[6] "In Missis solemnibus Calix dum *Prophetia* canitur, cum vino, et aqua præparatur, et Hostia in Patena apponitur : at vero in privatis, primum Calix præparatur, et in Patena Hostia collocatur, ac deinceps *Officium* incohatur ad Missam." (F. J. Hernandez de Viera, *Rubricas generales de la Missa Gothica-Muzarabe*, Salamanca, 1772. p. LXXIV.)

given because a practice of setting the gifts on the altar early in the service had come in. But in Cardinal Ximenes' time it would seem that this custom had become fully established; for, at whatever time the gifts were prepared, whether before the introit, or during the epistle, it seems plain that they were straightway set upon the altar, a direction for unfolding the corporal being printed before the directions for preparing the elements. At the present day the elements are set on the altar at the time of their preparation; but after the gospel there are directions for a verbal offering of the gifts, and the chalice is directed to be then set on the *ara*. (p. 223, line 100.) In Spanish Latin *ara* is the small square slab on which the elements are consecrated, called in English the portable altar, or superaltar. It would seem therefore that at the offertory the paten and chalice were moved up from another part of the altar to the place where the *ara* was. This is still the custom with the Dominican friars, and was a common custom in Spain before the end of the sixteenth century.

It may be as well to mention here a theory that the chalice was mixed after the offertory in the Mozarabic rite, and after it was verbally offered. This view has its foundation in a rubric which is found after the direction for incense at the offertory (p. 224, line 4): *Hic accipiat aquam in manibus*. I cannot but think that this is only the ceremonial washing of the hands. I find that the Mexican edition of Lorenzana adds *ad lavandum manus*[1] to this rubric; and the tradition at Salamanca is the same; at this point in the service the rubric of 1772 says: *in cornu epistolæ lavet manus*.[2]

So much then for the Mozarabic and Gallican liturgies. We turn now to one of the most important of the living rites, the liturgy of Rome.

The Liturgy which has most influenced Western Europe is beyond doubt that associated with the name of

[1] *Op. cit.* p. 42. [2] *Rubricas generales*, p. LII.

St. Gregory. This is not the place to discuss the origin of this liturgy, if first formed in the neighbourhood of Carthage and thence brought to Rome on the disappearance of the Greek language there ; but we know that at Rome and in Africa the kiss of peace was early separated from the offertory, and has been given immediately before communion, in striking contrast to its place in all other liturgies. In like contrast we shall also see a marked difference in the time of the preparation of the chalice, which is made at the offertory, not, as in so many other liturgies, before the service begins.

Of the exact moment at which the gifts were prepared and set on the altar the Gregorian Sacramentary tells us nothing, unless it be implied that they were offered while the offertory was being sung. The earliest detailed account that we have of the ceremonies of the Roman liturgy is in the *Ordo Romanus*, printed first by Cassander,[1] afterwards by Hittorp,[2] later on by Muratori.[3] Many of the *Ordines Romani* have been printed by Mabillon [4] ; and it is from his edition that are taken the following details of the first *Ordo*. They are not always perfectly plain, but the ceremonial seems to be much as follows.

The deacon who has read the gospel returns to the altar, where he meets an acolyte with a chalice and corporal over it. The acolyte passes the chalice (*calix*) to his left hand, and gives to the deacon the corporal, which with the help of the second deacon is spread on the altar, and the chalice placed upon it. Apparently it is taken off the altar again by the subdeacon, who follows the archdeacon with the empty *calix*. It should be noticed that three chalices appear to be in use : one, *calix maior*,

[1] Georgius Cassander, *Ordo Romanus de officio missæ*, Coloniæ, hæredes Arnoldi Birckmanni, 1568, in 8°. I owe the opportunity of consulting this edition to the kindness of the late Rev. W. Cooke, Canon of Chester.

[2] M. Hittorp, *De divinis Catholicæ Ecclesiæ officiis*, Paris, 1610, col. 1.

[3] L. A. Muratori, *Liturgia Romana Vetus*, Venetiis, 1748, t. ii. col. 973.

[4] I. Mabillon, *Musei Italici*, tomus II. Luteciæ Parisiorum, 1724. Mr. Cuthbert Atchley has recently edited *Ordo Romanus Primus* in this Library of Liturgiology and Ecclesiology.

the larger chalice; another, the *scyphus*, the ministerial chalice; the third, the chalice (*calix*) in which the consecration itself takes place.[1]

The pope next comes down from his throne accompanied by certain officers; and moving about from one part of the church to the other, receives the breads offered by the people. From the pope the regionary subdeacon takes the breads and gives them to the following subdeacon, who puts them into a linen cloth which two acolytes hold. After the pope also follows the archdeacon, and he receives the offered wine in cruets or phials, which he pours into the larger chalice which is held by the regionary subdeacon; whom an acolyte follows with a ministerial chalice above his chasuble; and as soon as the larger chalice is full, he pours its contents into the ministerial chalice. When the offerings of bread and wine have been collected from the faithful by the pope and the archdeacon, the former returns to his throne and washes his hands; but the archdeacon washes his hands standing before the altar.

Now the breads which the following subdeacon had in his hands are brought by the regionary subdeacons to the archdeacon, and he would appear to set them on the altar. Then the archdeacon takes the cruet of the pope from the oblationary subdeacon, and pours the wine into what appears to be the chalice (*calix*) through a strainer.[2] Then the subdeacon receives water from the hands of the archparaphonista and gives it to the archdeacon, who pours it into the chalice, making with the water a cross.

It should be noticed that, as far as we have information, the bread and wine offered by the people remain in the hands of the acolytes and subdeacons until they be set

[1] *See* Mabillon, *op. cit.* t. ii. p. 59, note *a*.

[2] There is a description of the strainer in Theophilus *de diversis artibus*, lib. iii. cap. lvii. Lond. 1847. ed. Hendrie, p. 284. There is a drawing of the *colum* in D. Georgii *de Liturgia Romani Pontificis*, Romæ, 1731. t. i. and a chapter on it (cap. vi. p. lxxiii.).

on the altar. There appears to be no credence, or table of proposition. Each one of the faithful brings his own bread, which appears to have been made by himself or herself, and there is nothing which at all corresponds to the office of the prothesis of the Eastern liturgies. Further it should be noticed that there is no account of any preparation of the bread, which is so notable a feature in the Eastern liturgies ; nor of the addition of water to any but the one chalice, although it seems plain that two others were used in receiving the offerings of the faithful. There is also no trace of the prayers which form a verbal oblation in the modern service. The archdeacon and his assistants are to set (*componere*) on the altar the offerings, and this action would seem to be taken as more significant than any form of words would be.

The pope then comes down to the altar from his throne and receives certain breads offered by the clergy : then the archdeacon takes the breads offered by the pope from the oblationary subdeacon and gives them to the pope. When the pope has set these on the altar, the archdeacon takes the chalice from the hands of the regionary subdeacon, and sets it on the altar next the bread offered by the pope, the handles of the chalice being wound round with the offertory veil.

This ends the ceremonies of the early Roman offertory. When the canon is over, and the lay folk are to be communicated, the archdeacon pours a little of the consecrated chalice into the ministerial chalice (*scyphus*), the contents of which were supplied by the offerings of the faithful. It was a current opinion at that early time that the addition of a small quantity of the consecrated species to another chalice was enough to extend the virtue of consecration to the whole of the contents of the second chalice.[1] Now there is no record of an addition of water

[1] With this we may compare the practice of adding ordinary water to the water blessed for baptism, and of ordinary olive oil to the cream or holy oil, if either of these should fail. We still find these directions in the modern Roman *Rituale*. (*Rituale Romanum Pauli V.* etc. De Sacramento Baptismi. Mechliniæ, 1876. pp. 14 and 18.)

to this ministerial chalice at the offertory, or at any other time.[1] It is unlikely that pure wine, to which no water had been added, would be used in the celebration ; and the question arises if the wine, when offered by the faithful, had not already received a certain amount of water : and that the water added at the offertory to the papal chalice was merely added to make sure that some water had been added. This suggestion is made by Brett[2] ; and some support is given to his view by the direction in *Ordo Romanus VI.* Here as soon as the deacon begins to read the gospel, two acolytes receive the sacred vessels from the keeper of the church in the vestry[3] ; and the acolytes carry these into the choir, one bearing the chalice covered with a corporal, and already containing wine mixed with water ; the other carrying the paten.[4] Now, although further on, there are directions for the straining of the wine before the singing of the anthem of the offertory, and for the receiving of the offerings in kind from the faithful after, yet there is no further direction for the addition of water to the wine. The mixing of the chalice would appear, therefore, to have taken place in the vestry, some time before the gospel was read.

In the *Ordines Romani II. III.* and *V.* which follow this first, as printed by Mabillon, much the same account is given in all the leading particulars of the ceremonies of the offertory, and later, in the account which Innocent III. gives of the celebration of mass, written, no

[1] Cardinal Bona boldly solves the difficulty by saying that water was in the ministerial chalice before wine was added. Sequitur cum scypho, *continente scilicet aquam.* (*Rerum Liturg.* I. xxv. § 5. Antv. 1739. p. 293.) But I do not know of any ancient instance in which the water was poured into the chalice before the wine, except in the Irish tract of the Stowe missal.

[2] Thomas Brett, *Collection of the principal Liturgies*, London, 1720, p. 149, note.

[3] *Sacrarium, Secretarium, Diaconicum, Sacristia :* Ducange. Throughout these *Ordines* the word *sacrarium* nearly always has the meaning of vestry.

[4] Mabillon, *op. cit.* p. 73. Cf. the second *Ordo Romanus* of Hittorp. (*De divinis catholicæ ecclesiæ officiis*, Parisiis, 1610. col. 8D.)

doubt, before his election as pope in 1198, we find that the bread was set on the altar, as in the early rite, after the offertory, and the chalice mixed immediately after, but that the celebrant himself mixed the wine with water,[1] a practice which continued in the time of Durandus,[2] and is prescribed in *Ordo Romanus XIV.*[3] This is said to have been written by James Caietan, who died when Clement VI. was pope; that is, between 1342 and 1352. In the beginning of the sixteenth century, however, Marcellus tells us that the subdeacon added the water to the chalice from a spoon,[4] and the subdeacon appears to have continued to the present day in this office of making the chalice.

To return to *Ordo Romanus XIV.* Between the early *Ordines* and the *Ordo Romanus XIV.*, there is a great interval of time, and a great difference in ceremonial had sprung up. A ceremony not unlike that of the Greek office of the prothesis is now met with, and a *locus aptus* near the altar which must have had a certain likeness to the modern credence. The collection of the offerings from the people has also entirely disappeared. The following are the directions: After the epistle, if there be no sermon in the mass, the subdeacon washes his fingers and makes ready the chalice in some suitable place near the altar, pouring wine into the chalice, but, it should be well noticed, no water as yet; upon the chalice he sets the paten with the bread, and covers all with a cloth. If there be no suitable place near the altar, the chalice is made ready on the altar itself. Then the subdeacon goes and sits amongst the other ministers. When there is a

[1] Innocentii III. *de sacro altaris mysterio*, II. lvii. Sylvæ-Ducum, 1846. p. 167.

[2] Durandus, *Rationale divinorum officiorum*, IIII. xxx. Venetiis, 1586. p. 94. Sicardus, *Mitrale*, lib. iii. cap. vi. Ed. Migne 1855, col. 120B.

[3] J. Mabillon, *Museum Italicum*, Paris, 1724. t. ii. p. 301.

[4] Chr. Marcellus, *Rituum Eccles.* etc. Lib. iii. Venetiis, 1516, fo. cxxvii. The reader may note the extraordinary precautions taken against poison at the offertory. Cf. Dominici Georgii *de Liturgia Romani Pontificis*, Romæ, 1744. t. iii. p. 578. The *Ordo* is said to be of the fourteenth century.

sermon, this preparation is put off until after the sermon.

In this ceremonial it is clear that we have passed from Caroline times into the full middle ages. It is strange that no traces of an early preparation of the gifts should be met with before in the Roman Liturgy, and even now the preparation is incomplete ; for though wine is poured into the chalice, and it may be that the chalice is at once set on the altar, yet water is not added until the time of the verbal offering of the gifts.[1] It may be noticed that the pope himself, and not an inferior minister,[2] puts the water into the chalice with the prayer *Deus qui humanæ*, a Christmas collect, taken from the Leonine Sacramentary, but marred by the senseless interpolation of words designed to fit the collect for its new use. It appears in this form in Ménard.[3]

It is also in this *Ordo* that we first meet with the verbal oblation *Suscipe Sancte Pater*, etc., and the rest of the prayers now said after the offertory, which are not Roman in origin, but appear to come from Gallican sources ; of which, besides the external evidence of Micrologus,[4] we have the internal evidence of the prayer *Suscipe Sancta Trinitas*, in which a recitation of the names of the saints takes place, like the recitation of the Gallican diptychs.

We should further note that while in the first six

[1] This ceremonial was preserved almost entire into the sixteenth century by the Canons of St. Augustine. See *Ordinarium Fratrum Canonicorum Regularium Congregationis S. Salvatoris, Ordinis S. Augustini*, Romæ, Ant. Blad. 1549. capp. xxxix. and xli. And in a little Franciscan book, rather private than liturgical (*Liber familiaris clericorum*, Venetiis, P. Liechtenstein, 1550. fo. 225 verso) the ceremonial is very much the same, only the chalice, as soon as the wine is poured into it, is to be set on the altar, and the water added at the verbal offering. This only applies to high mass ; at low mass the wine may be poured into the chalice, and then set on the altar before the service or at the verbal oblation, whenever the priest likes.

[2] The Ambrosian ceremonial described by Beroldus (see below, p. 121) may be compared with this. If the Archbishop of Milan were present, he himself made the chalice ; if not, the subdeacon put wine and water into the chalice in the vestry.

[3] Hugh Ménard, *Divi Gregorii papæ . . . Liber Sacramentorum*, Parisiis, 1642, p. 270 of the first pagination.

[4] Micrologus, *De eccles. observ.* cap. xi. in Hittorp, *De divinis catholicæ ecclesiæ officiis*, Paris, 1610. col. 738.

Ordines the elements are not set on the altar until after the gospel or creed, in this fourteenth they may be set on the altar itself so early in the service as immediately after the epistle, if there be no suitable place near. This is a distinct swerving from primitive customs, which did not allow of the presentation of the elements on the altar until after the expulsion of the catechumens, and the beginning of the *missa fidelium*.[1]

It is commonly said that private or low mass came first into general use about the time of Charles the Great. By private mass is meant the celebration of the eucharist without deacon and subdeacon, whether accompanied by music or not makes no difference. There can be no doubt that private mass was well known throughout the middle ages; but the first account of low mass at Rome that I have met with is in the *Ordo celebrandi missam* of

[1] Immediately after the gospel or creed, as the case may be, the priest says, and has said from very early times (*Ord. Roman. II.* in Mabillon, *op. cit.* ii. 46), *Dominus vobiscum* and *Oremus;* but this is followed immediately by no prayer, only by the anthem of the offertory. An explanation of this is often made by supposing that *Oremus* refers to the *Secreta* collect of the day; but the great interval between the invitation to prayer and the prayer itself makes such an explanation unlikely. In the early *Ordines*, the whole ceremonies of the offertory, the collection of the offerings of all orders of the people, lay folk and clerks, comes between; and in the modern service there is still a long interval; the setting of the bread and wine on the altar, the preparation of the chalice, the censing of the gifts and the altar, the washing of the hands, *Orate fratres.* Can it be that this *Oremus* after the gospel marks the division between the two masses? That the catechumens being dismissed, the faithful are bidden to begin the more solemn part of the liturgy by the salutation and invitation to prayer?

It may be objected that this *Oremus* is said after the creed, which is a part of the *missa fidelium.* But it should be remembered that the creed is of late introduction into the Roman liturgy, and that sometimes it was sung before the sermon, which is beyond all doubt a part of the *missa catechumenorum*, so that in later times it would not seem that the line of division between the two masses was very well recognized.

There is a good deal of mediæval evidence that *Oremus* before the offertory, was looked upon as the beginning of the *missa fidelium*, but I cannot go further into the matter now. It may also be noticed that an *Oremus* is said after *Judica* and *Confiteor*, as the priest goes up to the altar. It is true that *Aufer a nobis* follows immediately; but this is said secretly, while *Oremus* is said with a loud voice. Is this *Oremus* the ancient beginning of the *missa catechumenorum?*

John Burckard[1] of Strassburg, who was master of the ceremonies in the Roman Curia at the end of the fifteenth century. His work has often been reprinted; and from it is descended the *Ritus Servandus*, prefixed to the Roman Missal since the time of Pius V. From this account of John Burckard's it is clear that the host or hosts at low mass were set upon the altar at the same time as the vessels, that is, when first the priest went up to the altar. But the chalice was made after the anthem of the offertory and the prayer *Suscipe sancte pater*. It is clear that no wine was in the chalice before, because the priest is bidden to wipe it carefully with the purificator and then to pour in wine, saying nothing; and after, water.

Most of the mediæval writers on ceremonial to whom I have access[2] give an account of the ceremonies of the offertory which is practically the same as that described in the Roman *Ordo:* to wit, that the chalice is made and the elements set on the altar after the anthem of the offertory. It may be noticed that Durandus speaks only of the Roman practice: though as a Dominican friar he must have been well acquainted with the custom of his order, which is to make the chalice, and set the bread and wine on the altar, at low mass, before the service, and at high mass, between the epistle and gospel. The silence of these writers must not then be taken as evidence of a want of knowledge of the existence of other customs.

The Roman customs at the offertory would seem also to prevail at Sienna in 1213,[3] and at Aquileia in 1403, or earlier.[4] At Modena, in the twelfth century, the host and the chalice, perhaps already mixed, were offered directly after the gospel.[5]

[1] John Burckard, *Ordo Missæ*, Rome, 1502. Reprinted in *Tracts on the Mass*, Henry Bradshaw Society, pp. 133 and 150.

[2] See Hittorp's collection in his *De divinis catholicæ ecclesiæ officiis*. I have used the edition printed at Paris in 1610. Also Cochleus' *Speculum Missæ*, Venice, 1572. See also Dominico Georgi *De liturgiâ romani pontificis*, Romæ, 1744. iii. Appendix monumentorum.

[3] J. C. Trombelli, *Ordo Officiorum Ecclesiæ Senensis*, Bononiæ, 1766. p. 459

[4] J. F. B. M. de Rubeis, *Dissertationes duæ*, Venetiis, 1754. p. 276.

[5] L. A. Muratori, *Liturgia Romana Vetus*, Venetiis, 1748. t. i. col. 90.

For our knowledge of the early Ambrosian mass we are indebted to Monsignor Ceriani, the distinguished Prefect of the Ambrosian Library at Milan, "le savant le plus versé dans l'étude de la liturgie milanaise," says Monseigneur Duchesne.[1] Monsignor Ceriani regards the Ambrosian as a sister rite to the Roman, while Monseigneur Duchesne, if I understand him well, would rather look upon Milan as the starting-point of the Old Gallican liturgy. In Monsignor Ceriani's edition of the Biasca manuscript there is no information upon the time of the preparation and setting on the altar of the gifts, beyond the position of the prayer *super oblata*, which is equivalent to the Roman *secreta*. The earliest account of the ceremonies of the Ambrosian mass is given by Beroldus, who wrote about A.D. 1130, and there is a certain resemblance, not exact at all points, between the ceremonies of the offertory at Milan, and those of the sixth *Ordo Romanus*. When *parcite fabulis* and *silentium habete* have been proclaimed at the beginning of the gospel, an oblation of bread and wine is received from the hand of the deacon and subdeacon[2] on certain days by *Custodes*, or sextons. After the gospel, the subdeacons return to the vestry, and then follow *Dominus vobiscum*, *Kyrie*, and the anthem after the gospel. The prayer *supra sindonem* having been said, the *Cicendelarius hebdomadarius* supplies the hebdomadary subdeacon[3] with bread and wine from the Archbishop's stores, and also with water. The subdeacon puts the bread on the paten, and wine and water into the chalice, provided the archbishop be away. But if the archbishop be present, he himself makes the chalice.

[1] L. Duchesne, *Origines du culte chrétien*, Paris, 1889. p. 152, note.

[2] MS. I. 152 (P. inf.) in the Ambrosian Library at Milan, f. xxxviij. I am indebted to the Very Rev. Marco Magistretti, Master of the Ceremonies in the Metropolitan Church, for a copy of a privately printed edition of this MS., and for many acts of courtesy during my visits to Milan.

[3] The Master of the Ceremonies at Milan has pointed out to me that the subdeacon in the Ambrosian Rite performs functions closely akin to those of the acolyte in the Roman Rite. Until the time of St. Charles Borromeo, the subdeacon was hardly considered to be in holy orders, and there were no canons subdeacons.

The subdeacon then, with great reverence, carries the bread in the paten, and the chalice with the wine from the vestry to the altar; and gives the gifts to the deacon, and the deacon to the archbishop or priest. Then the *Offerenda* is sung. After that the *Vetuli* and *Vetulæ* offer bread to the archbishop or priest (the men only enter the choir, the women remain outside[1]), each offers three breads, which the priest gives to the subdeacon; they offer wine to the deacon, and one of the lesser *Custodes* takes it from the deacon and pours it into the chalice of oblation, and returns the cruet to the *Vetulus* whose it is. The archbishop or priest then returns to the altar, and washes his hands; the subdeacon then pours the wine offered by the *Vetuli*, through a strainer into the golden chalice, which the deacon has taken off the altar, and holds in his hands; the deacon then replaces the chalice on the altar, the archbishop makes the sign of the cross, and the gifts are censed. The creed then follows.

In the first printed Ambrosian Missal it would seem plain that the chalice was made after the gospel, after *pacem habete*.[2] There is also in the Ambrosian Library at Milan another missal printed in 1522, which has been prepared for the printer, and many of the rubrics struck out. For example, after the prayer *rogo te altissime* there comes this rubric, struck out:[3] Hic de dei misericordia confidens: leuet et oculos ad celum et accendens ad altare consecratum et paratum lumine: cruce: mappis. calice cum uino, et aqua et patena cum hostia et syndone: et tersitorio: ac missali et clerico: dicat secrete, etc. On the verso of this leaf comes the following rubric, not

[1] On Low Sunday, April 8, 1891, I saw that this separation of the sexes was still made.

[2] *Missale Ambrosianum*, Mediolani per Antonium Zarrottum, 1475. fo. cvi. verso. The rubrics in this printed book are added by hand, and they vary in the two copies in the Ambrosian Library, in their form but not always in their substance.

[3] *Missale secundum morem s. Ambrosii*, Mediolani per I. A. Seinzenzeler, 1522. fo. 127.

struck out : Finita oratione *super syndonem* si calix non fuerit apparatus : hic apparetur ponendo in eo uinum et modicam aque. Et quando uinum imponit, etc.

In these two missals,[1] there are thus allowed two various times for making the chalice ; in one, the chalice is already made when carried to the altar with the bread ; the other is at the offertory after the gospel : and this leads to the consideration of a book by an Ambrosian ritualist, Casola, who wrote in 1499. He shares, with other rubricians of the end of the middle ages, an entire indifference to the place in the service, up to the offertory, at which the chalice might be mixed. The rubrics of churches so widely separated as Milan and Toledo, Augsburg and Agrani, agreed in saying that it did not matter when the chalice was made. Thus Casola, the Ambrosian ritualist, speaking of the interval between the epistle and gospel, says : " Sunt nonnulli qui his peractis preparant calicem cum vino et aqua et hoc arbitrarium est quia talis preparatio potest fieri etiam ante inchoationem misse : et etiam ante oblationem : et non refert." [2] It was much the same at Toledo : " Preparatio hostie et calicis potest fieri ante incoeptum officium misse, vel ante Evangelium, vel ante offertorium, quando voluerit sacerdos." [3] And at Augsburg : " Aliqui preparant calicem ante Evangelium : alii post offertorium : alii vero sub minore canone post oblationem panis. Tu vero prepara illum cum volueris." [4] At

[1] The Ambrosian Missal of 1560 follows in its main features the edition of 1522. Neither, Monsignor Ceriani informs me, is a particularly good edition. It may be useful to note that Martène's reprint of the Ambrosian Ordinary (ed. Antwerp, 1736. t. i. p. 482) from the Ambrosian Missal of 1560 is not quite accurate ; gives *præparatus* instead of *apparatus*, leaves out words that are repeated in adding the water to the chalice, and other small changes.

[2] P. Casola, *Rationale Cerimoniarum Misse Ambrosiane*, Mediolani, 1499. fo. 10b. His indifference seems shared by F. Suarez ; see below, p. 162, *n.* 2.

[3] *Missale mixtum secundum ordinem alme primatis ecclesie Toletane*, 1561. Toleti, fo. cxiiii.

[4] *Missale secundum ritum augustensis ecclesie*, Dilinge, Sebald Mayer, 1555. fo. 147 verso. It would seem from F. A. Hoeynck (*Geschichte der kirchlichen Liturgie des Bisthums Augsburg*, Augsburg, 1889. (p. 70) that this rubric makes its first appearance at Augsburg in this edition.

Agram the priest might, if he liked, make the chalice before the introit, or immediately before the gospel; but in winter, when the weather was very cold, immediately after the offertory.[1] The time at which the mixing was to take place was so unimportant that it might be determined by the weather; if there was a chance, perhaps, of the contents of the chalice becoming frozen. It would even seem to have been thought by some that the wine might be mixed with water while it was still in the cask; for in John de Lapide, whose work was printed so often in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, the question is asked if it be enough that the water be added to the wine in the cask. It is replied that it is not enough, because the mixture is sacramental, and must not be done before the mysteries be begun, or preparation made for beginning them.[2] Also in an early printed work, *De defectibus occurrentibus in Missa*, there occurs: "non autem sufficit quod aqua apponatur quando vinum adhuc est in dolio quia hoc non significaret aliquid sed oportet quod imminente oblacione apponatur sacramentum."[3] Alexander of Hales, an Englishman of the thirteenth century, asks the question if it be sufficient if the water be added in the cask, but unluckily he does not decide it.[4]

In the same way, at Paris, leave is given to the priest to prepare the bread on the paten and to mix the chalice as soon as the altar is got ready, and before he vests, if

[1] *Missale secundum chorum almi episcopatus Zagrabiensis*, Venetiis, Liechtenstein, 1500 +*x*. Ordo in divinis. Mr. Weale gives the date as 1511. (See his *Catologus Missalium*, Lond. 1886. p. 219.)

[2] Ioan. de Lapide, *Resolutorium Dubiorum*, Cap. vii. Art. iv. § 12. Venetiis, 1559. fo. 26. verso. With this Suarez agrees. See below, p. 162, *note* 2.

[3] The book is in the University Library at Basle, without date, place, or printer's name. On the cover there is written a reference to Hain, *Repertor bibliograph.* Stuttgart. et Paris. 1826, vol. I. pars. i. *6072.

[4] Etiam potest quaeri; utrum sufficit, si admisceatur aqua in dolio. Et videtur quod sic, quia ante inceptionem missae misceri potest; et sufficit quod tunc admixta transmutetur in vinum. (Alexander of Hales, *Summa*, Pars IV. Quaestio x. Membr. 4. Art. 1. § 5, according to edition at Colonia Agrippina, 1622. p. 240.)

he should so wish: but at least the preparation was to be made before the gospel.[1]

Though the directions of Casola and others show such want of carefulness for the time at which the chalice should be made, yet they indicate the three places at which the mixing is most common. In the first place, *ante inchoationem missæ*, before the service; next, between the epistle and gospel; and last, *ante oblationem*, at the offertory.

These three great times may be divided again; for example, the making of the chalice at the offertory may take place directly after the creed or gospel, before the offering of the bread, or immediately before the chalice itself is offered: and further subdivisions may readily be made, if the reader be so minded.

Let us begin, then, with a consideration of the meaning of *ante inchoationem missæ*. If we look at the Gregorian Sacramentary,[2] we see that the introit was anciently the beginning of the public service, even as it really is now: for all that precedes the introit at this day is of the nature of private preparation for the priest. Any time, then, before the introit may be looked upon as before the service. Or even as far as the collects, according to Amalarius[3] and other mediæval authorities, and Claude de Vert,[4] more in our own time: for *Kyrie* is

[1] *Missale ad usum ecclesie Parisiensis*, Th. Kerver, 1501. The same directions run through the editions of 1541, 1543, and 1559. Pierre Le Brun says the practice continued until 1615. (*Explication . . . de la Messe*, Paris, 1777. t. iii. p. 306.)

[2] L. A. Muratori, *Liturgia Romana Vetus*, Venetiis, 1748. t. ii. col. 1. Or C. E. Hammond, *Liturgies Eastern and Western*, Oxford, 1878. p. 364.

[3] Amalarius, *De eccles. offic.* ii. 5 (in Hittorp's Collection). "Officium quod vocatur introitus Missæ, habet initium, a prima antiphona quæ dicitur introitus, et finitur in oratione, quæ a sacerdote dicitur ante lectionem." See in the same collection, Rupert of Deutz, *De divinis officiis*, I. 31, de collecta. "Hucusque Missae initium, quod dicitur Introitus." As late as 1745 at Soissons, where the chalice was made during *Kyrie* or *Gloria*, the time of preparation is spoken of as before Mass (Calix paratur in Credentiâ ante Missam, *Missale Suessionense*, Parisiis, 1745. Rubricæ generales, cap. vi. p. 23).

[4] Claude de Vert, *Explication . . . des Cérémonies*, Paris, 1713. t. iii.

only the end of the Litany which once preceded the Mass, and *Gloria in excelsis* is really an intrusion from the divine service into the eucharistic office.[1]

We may take then the period *ante inceptionem missæ* as extending from the time at which the priest first washes his hands on coming into church to the saying of the collects. When the chalice is mixed before the service, or at any point before the collects, it sometimes happens that the elements are also then set on the altar, which becomes a kind of prothesis, the elements being later on moved from the end where they are first set to the middle part of the altar.

An illustration of this may be seen in Plate XV., which represents a pope at the moment of the elevation of the host, showing it to the people. Nevertheless, the cruets remain on the south side of the altar, with the incense boat, showing that this end of the altar serves the purposes of a credence table.[2]

We may quote, as an example of this, one of the earliest instances that we have: a book of *Consuetudines* of the Cistercian monks, written at the end of the twelfth

p. 86. He points out that at Florence and Chartres the ringing for Mass only stops during *Gloria in excelsis*. Just as in the ordinary Roman rite on Maundy Thursday and Easter Even, the bells ring during *Gloria* to call the people to Mass. This writer holds that bells are only rung to call the faithful to church. The ringing at the consecration or *Agnus* is to call the people to Sext, None, or Vespers, whichever of these offices immediately follows: at *Magnificat*, to Compline: at *Te Deum*, to Lauds.

[1] See also L. Duchesne, *Origines du culte chrétien*, Paris, 1889. p. 156. "Chants préliminaires."

[2] Plate XV. is a reproduction of a painting once attributed to Raffaelino del Garbo, the original of which is in the possession of Mr. R. H. Benson, at 16, South Street, Park Lane. It is dated 1501, and represents a very favourite subject of that time, the Mass of St. Gregory. It is valuable to us because it shows the Italian furniture and customs of the early sixteenth century, which we may contrast with those now in vogue. There are only two lights on the altar, and there are no flowers; the mass-book is supported by a cushion in accordance with the present rubric; the altar is vested with an embroidered antependium. The gradin or shelf which supports the candlesticks is the earliest instance that I have met with anywhere of such an addition to the altar. The shape of the vestments may be profitably contrasted with that of the modern ornaments now worn at Rome.

THE MASS (

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(*From the original in*

[*Between pp.* 126 *and* 127

AINT GREGORY.

1501.

ession of Mr. R. H. Benson.)

century and thus very soon after the foundation of the order, directs the deacon, after saying *Confiteor*, to spread the corporal on the altar; and after rinsing the chalice with water, to minister bread upon the paten and wine in the chalice, the subdeacon helping him. Whoever it be that does it, whether deacon or subdeacon, wine is first to be poured into the chalice, and then the cruet containing water is given to the priest when he is ready for it; and the priest pours water into the chalice. Then the paten being set on the chalice and covered with the offertory veil, he comes down below the step of the altar on the right hand.[1]

The time, however, at which the bread and wine are to be ministered by the deacon to the priest would seem to be not very strictly enjoined, provided that it be about the time when the priest first goes up to the altar. For example: if, while the deacon is ministering, the priest begins to say *Gloria in excelsis Deo* or *Dominus vobiscum*, the deacon must leave off ministering, and say after the priest.

Much the same practice must have continued throughout the middle ages, for these directions are also found in a Cistercian book printed in 1531,[2] but the book published in 1617 shows only the usual modern Roman customs.[3]

This Cistercian practice we may take as a typical instance of setting the bread and wine on the altar, and mixing the chalice before the beginning of the service. It would also seem that the bread and wine were not set on the middle of the altar but at one of its ends, for after the gospel or creed the deacon moves them to a corporal on the middle of the altar.[4]

[1] Ph. Guignard, *Les monuments primitifs de la règle cistercienne*, Dijon 1878. p. 142. Consuetudines, written between 1173–1191.

[2] *Liber usuum Cisterciensis Ordinis*, Paris, Engelbert de Marnet, 1531.

[3] *Missale ad usum sacri ordinis Cisterciensis*, Lutetiæ Parisiorum, Sebastian Cramoisy, 1617.

[4] Guignard, *op. cit.* p. 144.

This Cistercian custom probably represents one of the earliest forms of the practice *ante inceptionem missæ;* for it takes place as the priest goes up to the altar, where the ancient service began with introit or collect.

When, however, we have to deal with setting the elements on the altar or mixing the chalice before *Iudica* and *Confiteor*, such as we see in the Dominican low mass, it may be said that they come from a time when *Iudica* and *Confiteor* had already been put in front of the ancient service. Supposing this objection to be valid, which seems doubtful, it cannot be made to the preparation of the chalice before or during vesting, for this practice may be as old as the custom of wearing any special vestment at all for mass.

In order to give more at length an instance of the preparation of the elements before vesting, the following directions from a Verdun missal may be quoted. The priest, having prepared himself by washing and drying his hands and saying, kneeling before the altar, *Veni sancte spiritus* with *Da nobis quesumus*, prepares the elements: "Deinde extendat corporalia super altare accipiatque calicem ac tergat cum sudario, panem ad celebrandum super patenam calicis ponat, vinum deinde fundat in calicem. Et benedicat cum signo crucis dicendo ea que sequuntur. *Dominus te benedicat de cuius latere exivit*, etc. Benedicat aquam *Et aqua baptismatis in remissionem peccatorum in nomine . . .* +*Amen.* Quo facto, ponat patenam super calicem cum pane: et cooperiat eum corporalibus. Deinde premisso signo crucis, ponat amictum super caput suum dicendo que sequuntur *Pone domine*, etc."[1]

The same direction to mix the chalice before vesting is given in a little tract frequently printed in France before 1550, *Alphabetum* (*seu Instructio*) *Sacerdotum*, which André du Saussay tells us contains the order for saying mass according to the custom of the Gallican

[1] *Missale secundum usum . . . insignis ecclesie et diocesis Virdunensis*, Parisiis, Gul. Merlin, 1554. fo. cxxxj.

Church.[1] The practices indicated by this *Alphabetum* were no doubt followed over a great part of the north of France.[2]

This practice of making the chalice after washing hands and before beginning to take the mass vestments, is prescribed in the ritual books of fourteen churches and orders. (See the *Table showing the Liturgical Moment of the making of the chalice* annexed to this paper.) There are also six churches and orders where the chalice was to be made while the priest was vesting, after taking the stole and before taking the chasuble.

Then, to pass on to the practice of making the chalice after vesting: there are directions for this in the treatise *de expositione misse*, by William of Gouda. Not following the rubrics of his own order,[3] he directs the priest to make the chalice directly he has finished vesting, and apparently some time before he says *confiteor*.[4] It would seem that the local practice of *Germania inferior* is being described, though the friars minor have been always known for their devotion to the ceremonial of the Roman Church. In the annexed Table, the number of cases where this practice is clearly ordered is but small. It shows, however, a number of rites in which the chalice was made early in the service; from the time of approaching the altar to the end of the collects, forming a cluster which cannot so conveniently be thrown under one heading as the preceding groups.

The next great time for the mixing of the chalice, is the interval between the epistle and gospel. When the

[1] Andreas du Saussay, *Panoplia sacerdotalis*, Lutet. Paris, 1653. p. 271, pars. I. lib. viii. cap. xx. artic. v.

[2] *Alphabetum Sacerdotum* has been reprinted in *Tracts on the Mass*, Henry Bradshaw Society (1904), p. 30.

[3] See the rubrics at the offertory in *Missale secundum morem romane ecclesie per fratres minores de observantiâ accurate revisum*, Nurmberge, 1501; the priest is there bidden to make the chalice after the creed, in the Roman fashion.

[4] *Tractatus de expositione misse editus a fratre Guilhelmo de Gouda ordinis minorum de observantiâ*, Colonie, per Henricum Quentell. The tract has no date, but Quentell is said to have printed only between 1498 and 1500.

chalice is mixed at this point in the service, there is no fixed moment at which the elements may be set on the altar; they might be taken to the altar as soon as the chalice was mixed, or remain on the credence until after the gospel or creed, when they were then carried to the altar.

An early instance of this preparation of the chalice between the epistle and gospel, may be found in the ritual book of Soissons, written between 1175 and 1207, by order of Nivelon de Cherisy, bishop of that church. The little objection to making an altar into a credence may be noted again: "Post epistolam . . . super quoddam altare retro magnum ministret[1] subdiaconus diacono panem et vinum et aquam." Then after the creed the deacon washes his hands, "eatque ad mensam propositionis, ubi proposuit ea que ad opus sacrificii preparavit. Tunc cum summo honore offerat ea, cereo preferente usque ad sacrosanctum altare, offeratque ea sacerdoti manum illius deosculans.[2]

At Soissons, then, in the twelfth century, the elements were prepared at some place apart from the altar, and kept there until the creed, when they were taken to the altar, with a certain amount of pomp, a candle being carried before them. It will be seen later on, in Part III., that this sort of great entrance survived at Soissons into the middle of the eighteenth century.

In other rites, the elements as soon as prepared were set on the altar, but only at one end, as at Palencia in Spain, where the chalice, as soon as made, and the paten with the host were put on the altar, though *extra aram*,[3] that is, not on the consecrated altar stone.

[1] *Rituale seu Mandatum insignis Ecclesiæ Suessionensis*, ed. Poquet, Suessione, 1856. p. 172. See also Edm. Martène, *De antiquis Ecclesiæ ritibus*, Lib. i. Cap. iv. Art. xii. Ordo xxii.

[2] *Ministrare* or *Administrare* in mediæval Latin means to prepare the elements for the celebration of mass, not merely to deliver them in the holy communion. This can be shown by numerous quotations, if desired, from the rubrics, references to which are given in the Table annexed to this paper. I note this interpretation because I do not find it in Ducange.

[3] *Missale Pallantinum*, etc., 1568. f. cccli.

There are twenty-seven churches and orders in the annexed Table, in which the chalice is made between the epistle and gospel.

The third great time for the preparation of the chalice is after the gospel or creed; and of this the Roman Liturgy, from the earliest times known, is the great example. But even in those rites in which the making of the chalice comes after the gospel, it does not follow that it will take place after the offering of the bread on the altar. The chalice may be made before the bread is set on the altar, or its verbal oblation. At Rhemes, the gospel being ended, wine and water were poured into the chalice, and the offertory then said. The chalice was next taken and lifted up; immediately after, the host was laid upon the corporal.[1] Very much the same was practised at Bremen,[2] and in some other dioceses. The monks of the Charterhouse apparently made ready the elements during the creed, but the water was added to the chalice during the singing of the offertory anthem, and immediately after this both elements were set on the altar.[3]

At Seville, the chalice was made after the deacon had received his blessing for the gospel, probably therefore after the gospel itself, but before the corporal was spread on the altar and before the host was offered.[4] At Cambray, the priest washed his hands after the offertory anthem and then mixed the chalice; after this the corporals were spread on the altar and the gifts offered.[5] Much the same was done at Eichstadt.[6] Other instances may be noted in the Table annexed to this paper.

[1] *Missale secundum usum . . . ecclesie Remensis*, Paris, 1542. f. xcvii. verso.

[2] *Missale secundum ritum ecclesie Bremensis*, Argent, 1511.

[3] *Repertorium Statutorum Ordinis Cartusiensis*, Basileæ, 1510, I. pars. statut. antiq. ca. xliii. § 22.

[4] *Missale secundum usum alme ecclesie hyspalensis*, Hispale, Jacob Cronberger, 1507, and later edition Alfonso Mauriques, 1534. f. cxl.

[5] *Missale parvum secundum usum venerabilis ecclesie Cameracensis*, 1507. f. cxxxj.

[6] *Missale secundum chorum et ritum Eystetensis ecclesie*, Nurnberg, 1517.

In this Table there are some forty instances in which the chalice is made after the gospel, against some sixty in which the chalice is made at a time before the gospel. Besides these I have examined some forty mass books in which I could discover no certain indication of the time at which the chalice was made.

It may well be asked: How did they arise, these three particular moments in the liturgy for the preparation of the gifts? and why did the setting on the altar of the gifts by anticipation so often immediately follow their preparation? If the reason given for the anticipation of the offertory in some Eastern liturgies be accepted, viz., the want of a proper vestry or place of proposition in which to prepare the elements, the same reason would well apply in the Western rites. A place of preparation would not be at hand in many mediæval churches and chapels, and the altar would suggest itself as convenient for making the preparation; and as soon as the prepared gifts were once set on the altar, their oblation was made: because it is the act of setting the gifts on the altar, not the words said over them later on, which is the act of offering. In former times, too, the mass vestments were often spread on the altar and taken thence at the beginning of mass, bishops retaining to this day the right to such a practice.

Then the interval between the epistle and gospel comes next as a place of preparation and offering. This is peculiar to the Western rites; with the exception of the Maronites, it has not even been suggested that the practice is known in the East; and in the case of the Maronites, it seems very clear that Martène misunderstood the words *Ferte oblationes*.[1] And in the Western rites it would seem to be found where Gallican influences were strong. In the early Roman ceremonial of *Ordo Romanus I.* for example, both the gifts are set on the altar after the gospel, and no words of offering are said over them. But in *Ordo Romanus VI.* the mixture takes

[1] See above, Part I. p. 97

place in the vestry, and the gifts are brought into the choir by acolytes as soon as the deacon begins to read the gospel. In this *Ordo* we find also for the first time *Veni Sanctificator* said over the gifts.[1] And further, in *Ordo Romanus XIV.* we find the gifts might be set on the altar as early in the service as after the epistle, and that customs foreign to the pure Roman liturgy, such as verbal oblations after the gospel, and the recitation of prayers during the mixing of the chalice, had come into use.

In the Irish tract which accompanies the Stowe missal there are some Gallican customs enjoined, such as the elaborate fraction of the host at the end of the canon; and in the Stowe missal itself, the diptychs are ordered to be recited before the preface.[2] Side by side with these Gallican ceremonies, we find others which we may suspect to be of like origin: the preparation of the gifts and the setting them on the altar before the service began; and also the curious practice of lifting the veil from the chalice in the interval between the epistle and the gospel.[3] The lifting of the veil at this moment from the prepared gifts was the practice in England just before the Reformation, in the diocese of Coutances in Normandy, and St. Pol de Leon in Brittany. It is also directed in the little tract *Alphabetum Sacerdotum*, which was printed so often in France before the middle of the sixteenth century, and which had so great an influence on French ceremonial. Becon, in his profane way, says it is to "look whether your drinke be there or no." The explanation of the mixing of the chalice between the epistle and gospel seems to lie in the fact that before the middle ages had begun, it was the practice in Gaul to look upon the *missa fidelium* as beginning with the gospel. The Council of Valentia in Spain in the sixth century directs that the gospel shall be read before the

[1] See above, Part II. p. 116.

[2] F. E. Warren, *Liturgy and Ritual of the Celtic Church*, Oxford, 1881. pp. 233 and 257.

[3] See below, Part IV. p. 147.

gifts are brought in, so that the catechumens may hear the salutary precepts of the epistle, gospel, and sermon.[1] And Amalarius says that in his days they expelled the catechumens before the gospel.[2] So in *Ordo Romanus VII.* the deacon bids the catechumens withdraw before the gospel.[3] Thus the beginning of the *missa fidelium* must in these cases have been in the interval between the epistle and gospel; and thus it might be regarded as appropriate a time for mixing the chalice and bringing in the oblations, as it was in those liturgies where the *missa fidelium* began after the gospel and sermon. Thus established, it remained and continued in many churches, through the middle ages and after.

III. THE WESTERN LITURGIES AFTER THE REFORM OF POPE PIUS V.

At the last sittings of the Council of Trent, towards the end of 1563, a commission was given to the Holy See to reform the missal and breviary.[4] Great speed was shown in this work of reform, in fact, it might be called haste, for the reformed breviary appeared in 1568, and the reformed missal in 1570. In this latter book few changes were made in the directions for the preparation

[1] See above, pp. 106 and 108.

[2] Amalarius, *De ecclesiasticis officiis*, III. lib. cap. 36; in Hittorp, *De divinis*, etc. Paris, 1610. col. 436 B.

[3] *Ordo Romanus VII.* in Mabillon, *Museum Italicum*, Paris, 1724. t. ii. p. 79.

[4] *Canones . . . concilii Tridentini.* Sess. xxv. Continuatio sessionis die iv. decembris. (Ratisbonæ 1874, p. 193.) The fathers were not unanimous. The Spanish Bishop of Lerida made a long oration to show that, in correcting ritual books, "there was need of an exquisite knowledge of Antiquity, and of the Customs of all Countries, which will not be found in the Court of *Rome*; where, though there be Men of excellent Wit, and of great Learning, yet they want skill in this kind." (Sir Nathanael Brent's translation of Father Paul's *History of the Council of Trent*, London, 1676. p. 747.) The Bishop's remarks may find a wider application than to the Court of Rome and the sixteenth century.

of the elements. At high mass, the bread was set on the altar after the anthem of the offertory; the deacon then pouring wine into the chalice, and the subdeacon water, which the celebrant blessed immediately before. At low mass, the mediæval practice of carrying the bread to the altar with the vessels was continued, even in the case where a number of breads had to be consecrated [1]; but the chalice was to be prepared after the verbal offering of the host, and its preparation was thus definitely separated from that of the bread.

This separation of the preparation of the two elements at Rome, the bread being prepared in the vestry before vesting, and the chalice later on in the service at the offertory, had the effect of destroying in a large number of the Western dioceses and orders all trace of the earlier custom of preparing the host and the chalice together; so that at the present moment the diocese of Lyons and the Dominican order are almost alone in retaining the primitive custom of preparing both elements together. For, whether intended or not by its authors, the publication of the bull *Quod a nobis* of Pius V. accompanying the reformed breviary had the effect of substituting the Roman breviary and missal for the diocesan liturgies in a large part of the West. The Sicilian rites were destroyed almost at once.[2] The liturgy of Aquileia went in 1594 under a patriarch rightly named Barbaro.[3] The liturgies of Spain disappeared in the time of Gregory XIII. In Portugal, however, the local rites remained in some

[1] A preparation of the bread in the vestry before it is set on the paten and carried to the altar with the vessels is ordered soon after Pius V.'s time. The celebrant is to put upon the purificator spread over the mouth of the chalice, "Patenam cum hostia integra quam leviter extergit, si opus est, a fragmentis." I meet with this direction for the first time in *Missale Romanum*, Parisiis, 1605. In *Missale Romanum*, Antverp. 1599, the words after *hostia* do not appear. It may thus be one of the corrections of Clement VIII.

[2] Iohannis de Iohanne, *De divinis siculorum officiis tractatus*, Panormi, 1736. p. 407.

[3] Vincenzo Joppi, *Archivio Veneto*, 1886. t. xxxi. Série ii. part i. p. 11. I owe this reference to the courtesy of Mr. Weale.

churches,[1] as in that of the metropolitan see of Braga. Mr. E. A. Allen, the courteous director of the public library at Oporto, has been kind enough to tell me that the preparation of the chalice continued to be made between the epistle and gospel until the end of the seventeenth century or later.

Though in Germany the work of entire destruction was postponed till the middle of the seventeenth century, yet the liturgies which survived were profoundly modified under the influence of the Pian books. In the few German diocesan missals which we find published in the first half of the seventeenth century, the Pian directions for the preparation are closely followed. There is, however, a slight allusion to the possibility of the chalice being mixed before the offertory at Triers in 1608.[2] At Mentz in 1602 the chalice is directed to be made after the grail, alleluya, tract, or sequence, and both host and chalice are then set on the altar.[3]

Even in France, where the diocesan books survived into our own time, the influence of the modern Pian directions on the preparation of the chalice and the offertory was felt at once. At Paris it has been seen that the practice of making the chalice before the service or before the gospel was followed in mediæval times, in common with the rest of the dioceses of France; yet, according to P. Le Brun, it was abolished in 1615,[4] in order, as A. du Saussay tells us,[5] that the ceremonies of Paris might approach nearer to those of Rome. I have been unable to trace in the numerous French missals and ceremonials printed since that date any return to

[1] Dom Prosper Guéranger, approving of the destruction of the Spanish Breviaries by the brief of 1573, is forced to own that several local customs existed to his certain knowledge in Portugal, even in his own days. (*Institutions liturgiques*, chap. xv. Paris, 1840. t. i. p. 456.)

[2] *Missale Trevirense*, 1608. Ritus celebrandi Missam.

[3] *Missale Moguntinum*, Moguntiæ, 1602. Ritus celebrandi Missam. See also p. 193.

[4] Pierre Le Brun, *Explication de la Messe*, Paris, 1777. t. iii. p. 306.

[5] Andreas du Saussay, *Panoplia Sacerdotum*, p. i. lib. viii. cap. xx. § 5. Lutet. Paris. 1653, p. 271.

what Du Saussay thinks was once the practice of the whole Gallican church: and soon after the Roman custom was adopted at Paris it must have spread widely, for the use of Paris has always had great weight with the rest of France. For example, at Rouen, where the same Gallican custom prevailed at least in 1499 and before, the Pian customs were adopted altogether in the Missal of 1623. Sometimes some fragments of the mediæval customs remain at high mass; but at Rouen, under François de Harlay I., the preparation and offertory have become purely Roman, nor do I find any return to more ancient customs in the missals edited in the next century.

No doubt, the practice of preparing the chalice before the service soon became extinct in France, for in the missals printed in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the Roman customs of the preparation and offertory are nearly always found at low mass, even when the older ceremonies have been retained at high mass. And these latter were forgotten in the multitude which adopted the Roman ceremonial; so that, at the end of the seventeenth century, even J. B. Thiers does not recognize the ceremony as an old mediæval custom. He treats the oblation of the bread and wine before saying the gospel, during the Gradual, Alleluia, Tract, or Prose, as a superstition.[1] So also about the same time as Thiers wrote, a Dominican writer had to clear his order of a charge of introducing novelties into the celebration of mass by their maintenance of the ancient custom, always practised amongst the black friars, of making the chalice before mass began.[2] If the mediæval practice were so entirely forgotten in the seventeenth century, those who lived in the nineteenth ought not to have

[1] J. B. Thiers, *Traité des superstitions qui regardent les sacrements*, t. ii. chap. x. § ix. Avignon, 1777. 4e éd. p. 444. Martène and Durand saw this done at Langres. (*Voyage littéraire de deux religieux bénédictins*, Paris, 1717, Partie i. p. 137.) But it was no longer done in 1775. (*Cérémonial du diocèse de Langres*, Langres, 1775. p. 125.)

[2] Marcello de Cavaleriis, *Statera sacra missam iuxta ritum ordinis prædicatorum*, etc. Neapoli, 1686, Titulus v. not. 165, p. 93.

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been surprised when it needed a judgment in the Court of the Archbishop of Canterbury to make men aware that such a practice ever existed in the West.

In a few churches, however, the practice remained of mixing the chalice at high mass between the epistle and gospel, even if the gifts were not immediately thereupon offered on the altar. Of these few I would now speak; and after dealing with the diocesan churches, I would speak shortly of the few religious orders in which the practice lingered.

Taking first of all the church of Lyons. It is *prima sedes Galliarum;* and still, even since the onslaught of Pius IX. upon the French diocesan liturgies, retains its own rites and ceremonies. The rubrics of the early part of the service in the missal of 1487,[1] agree very closely with those printed in the editions of 1510, 1556, and 1620. After the priest has approached the altar he says *confiteor* with its followings, and a prayer *Deus qui non mortem.* After this come directions for prayers over the host, and at pouring wine and water into the chalice. A blessing for the deacon before saying the gospel follows.[2]

The next Lyons missal, that of 1737, claims to be the first book in which the ceremonies of the Church of Lyons were printed; and there is but little change in these ceremonies in the later editions of 1771, 1825, and 1866. The edition of 1866 is that now in use in the diocese of Lyons, and it bears an augmented title: *Missale Romano-Lugdunense*, with the approval of the holy see. At the end of the book is the old Lyonnese *Ritus in Missa solemni servandus.* The ceremonies of the preparation and offertory[3] are contained chiefly in capp. v. and vi.

[1] *Missale sub ritu et usu dicte ecclesie lugdunensis*, Lugduni, Io. alemannus de mogontia, 1487. f. cxxvi.

[2] *Missale Lugdunense*, 1510. f. lcxiii.[thus, for lxxiii]. The two editions of 1556, spoken of by Mr. Weale, appear to be only one. The colophon runs: excudebat Lugduni Cornelius a Septemgrangiis expensis heredum Jacobi Giuntæ.

[3] *Missale Romano-Lugdunense*, Parisiis et Lugduni, 1866. p. 79.* In this

At high mass, in the churches of the diocese of Lyons, the epistle[1] and grail being said, the deacon and subdeacon go to the credence; there the deacon, laying his hand on the bread placed in the paten, says a certain prayer; he then pours wine into the chalice, and the subdeacon water, without any blessing, only saying the words prescribed in the ordinary; this done, the subdeacon spreads the corporal on the altar, and the deacon proceeds to sing the gospel.

This ceremony with the deacon and subdeacon takes place only outside the cathedral church, where the sacrist (*chori matricularius*), not the deacon, prepares the gifts at the credence; and the sacrist thence takes them to the altar of St. Spiratus, while the gospel is sung.[2] The same officer forthwith takes the corporal with the purificator to the high altar.

It is certainly remarkable that an inferior officer, who might be a mere layman,[3] should at the high mass in the cathedral church of Lyons be directed to prepare the elements. This circumstance does not favour the views uttered of late in certain quarters upon the "rigidly ceremonious" nature of the mixing of the chalice; and some may also notice that the Lyonnese practice has now received whatever authority may be given to it by an approbation of the see of Rome.

The bread and the wine mixed with water at the offertory during Lent, and then presented to and blessed by the celebrant, do not seem to be used for the celebra-

edition the variables have undergone immense changes; but the ordinary of the mass remains much the same.

[1] It may be noticed that at Lyons the epistle is read by the subdeacon, sitting, and everyone else also has to sit: "Dicto *Amen* post ultimam Collectam, subdiaconus sedens in erecto stallo, distincta et elevata voce cantat Epistolam, sedentibus omnibus, stallis sine fragore demissis," p. 78,* cap. iii. § 19.

[2] This altar appears to be behind the high altar: "Durant que le diacre chant l'évangile au jubé, on prepare la matière du sacrifice derrière l'autel." (Martène and Durand, *Voyage littéraire*, Paris, 1717. Pt. 1. p. 238.)

[3] See Ducange, *Glossarium*, sub v. "Matricularii in Ecclesiis Cathedralibus et Collegialibus ex ordine Clericorum et Laicorum erant."

tion of the eucharist, and need not therefore be further considered here.[1]

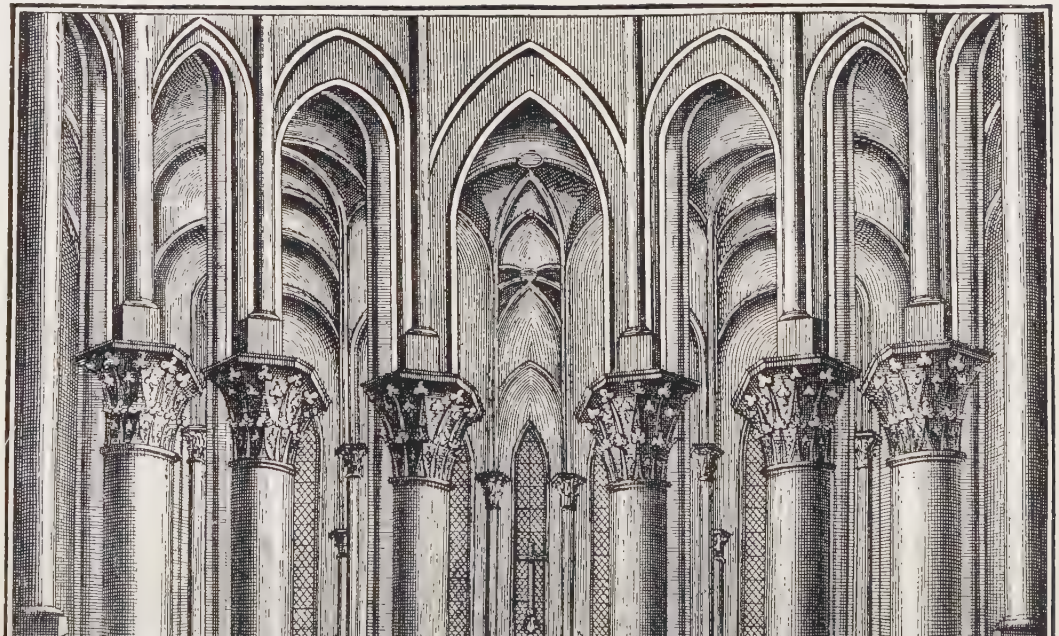
At Auxerre, the ceremonies of preparation and of offering on the altar were exceedingly interesting and curious. The following account is taken from the Missal of 1738.[2]

Directly after the chief subdeacon has sung the epistle, he goes to the credence, and there takes away the veil from the chalice, setting the paten and the host on one side. He then takes the chalice by the knot, wipes it with the purificator, and pours into the chalice the wine from the cruet, which the secondary subdeacon ministers to him. The chief subdeacon then puts the chalice on the paten with the host, and fixing both vessels with his left hand, and accompanied by his assistants, the first of whom bears the water cruet, he carries them to the celebrant. He and the deacon have been sitting in the two easternmost sedilia to hear the epistle; they now rise; and in winter throw back the amice, in summer uncover their heads, and the celebrant blesses the water; which done, the chief subdeacon pours a little of the water into the chalice. The subdeacon and his assistants then return to the credence, where the chalice is put down, covered with the paten and host, and the palla or small corporal laid over it. The subdeacon then immediately spreads the corporal on the altar.

[1] *Op. cit.* f. 81,* cap. vi. § ii. At Bourges, certain breads and unmixed wine were also brought in at the beginning of the epistle, followed by incense bearers censing continually; but these offerings do not seem to have been used for the Eucharist. (*Missale Bituricense*, Avarici Biturigam, 1741, Ritus in missa servandus, cap. v. p. xiii.) The offering of bread and wine during the Eucharist for other purposes than that of its celebration, is a very interesting study; but this paper is already too long to allow of such a subject being dealt with at the present moment. Nor can I deal with ceremonies like those at Rouen, in 1759, when between the epistle and gospel, the subdeacon brought in the breads, and the acolyte, the cruets; and, if there were no credence, the unprepared gifts were immediately set on the altar. (*Missale Ecclesie Rotomagensis*, Rotomagi, 1759, Rubricæ generales, p. 13.)

[2] *Missale sanctæ Autissiodorensis Ecclesiæ*, Trecis, apud Viduam Petri Michelin, 1738, Ritus Missæ majoris in Ecclesia cathedrali, p. 16.

[*Between pp.* 140 *and* 141



RITUS DEFERENDI OBLATA.

(Reproduced from the frontispiece of the Auxerre Missal of 1738.)

It should be noticed that both elements are taken to the priest, as in the Dominican rite, although the bread is not inspected as it is by the friars. The water is poured into the chalice, not at the credence, but while the chalice is in the hands of the subdeacon, standing before the celebrant and deacon, at the sedilia, which, as the accompanying illustration shows, are a little to the east of the credence, but on the same side of the church.

We may pass now to the ceremonies of the offertory, which preserve a most interesting resemblance to the great entrance of Constantinople. As soon as the celebrant says *Oremus*, the three subdeacons go to the credence, where the chief subdeacon takes the chalice and the host ; and then, carrying the sacred vessels on a level with his face, he passes round the back to the front of the altar ; the two secondary subdeacons on his right hand and left, two candle-bearers before him, and a censer bearer following him, censing continually until the gifts be placed on the altar.[1] (See Plate XVI.)

The celebrant and deacon turn round to receive the gifts, which are given to the deacon by the subdeacon. The celebrant takes the chalice from the deacon and

[1] The plate shows the celebrant, a bishop, standing in the middle of the altar, and turned to the people ; in front of him are the three deacons, and on the step below are the two cross-bearers in copes ; below them on the gospel side is the crocer ; opposite to him a canon in surplice, with a grey amyss over his left arm ; and a clerk carrying the mitre. All the ecclesiastics in copes wear bands.

Advancing towards the altar, is the procession with the gifts, which has come from the credence-table round the back of the altar.

In this illustration, there is also an opportunity of comparing the furniture of an eighteenth century altar with that of a modern altar. In the first place, it may be noticed that there is a real reredos, not an enormous erection behind the altar, throwing the last into insignificance. Then there is no tabernacle on the altar, but a hanging pyx over it ; there is no gradin ; and there are no flowers ; the candles actually on the altar are only four in number, and of no very great height. There is plainly an embroidered frontal, which is therefore most likely of silk ; at all events, the altar is not left naked. There are two *textus* on the altar, just as we can remember in the cathedral churches of our youth, but which the restorers have banished. There are riddells partly drawn, at the ends of the altar.

turns to the altar, setting the chalice first outside the corporal. The candle-bearers then go back to the credence, and put down their lights on it, and the censer-bearer retires to the right horn of the altar. Then the deacon gives the paten and host to the celebrant, and after that the chalice, and they are then set on the corporal with certain prayers.

At Soissons, in 1745, there appears to have been a ceremony not unlike that at Auxerre. While *Kyrie* is being said (or if not during *Kyrie*, at some time before the gospel) the deacon makes the chalice at the credence himself, saying a prayer over the water and pouring it into the chalice. If there be no credence, this is done at the altar. At the offertory the deacon brings the gifts to the altar, and he is preceded by two candle-bearers and two incense-bearers, these last two walking backwards, and censing the gifts until they be set on the altar. All ministers at the altar, including the "curati cardinales," turn their face to the gifts. If, however, the gifts be prepared at the altar before mass, there is no such ceremonious procession; the deacon merely presents the gifts to the priest.[1]

At Le Mans, as late as 1835, the chalice was mixed at high mass by the subdeacon between the epistle and gospel.[2] At Narbonne, the deacon poured the wine into the chalice at this moment, but the water was not added until the offertory.[3]

In the diocese of Laon, during the eighteenth century, the preparation and offertory seemed to have been much as follows.[4] While the celebrant is saying *Kyrie* the

Missale Suessionense, Parisiis, 1745, Rubricæ generales, capp. iii. and vi. pp. 16 and 23.

[2] *Missale Cenomanense*, Cenomani, 1835. p. 356.

[3] *Missale Narbonense*, Narbonæ, 1778. Rubricæ generales, p. 9.

[4] The account is taken from rubrics of the *Ritus in missa servandus* prefixed to the Laon Missals, published in 1702 and 1773. These two accounts are practically the same. In *Missale ad usum laudunen. Ecclesie*, Paris, 1491, fo. preserved in the Communal Library of Laon, the host and chalice are prepared between the taking of the stole and chasuble; or before the gospel. But Antoine Bellotte, in his well known book on the rites of Laon, gives a

deacon makes the altar ready, and the subdeacon brings from the credence the chalice and purificator, the paten with the bread, covered with the pall, veil, and burse; the deacon then sets the vessels on the left side of the altar (i.e., the left of the crucifix on it); then, having spread the corporal in the middle, he puts the vessels covered with the veil upon it, and returns to his place.

The collects having been sung, the deacon uncovers the chalice, and puts the paten with the bread on it at the edge of the corporal; wine and water being brought by a clerk, the deacon then pours wine into the chalice, as much as the celebrant wishes; the clerk then asks the celebrant (who is standing all this time at the epistle corner) to bless the water, and then the water is poured into the chalice by the deacon. The deacon then sets the chalice on the corporal, and covers it with the pall.

In the cathedral church there was a more elaborate ceremony. While the epistle was being sung, the senior boy brought in the chalice and paten, covered with a silk veil; the boy next in age, the bread, contained in a box carried on a rod; and the third in age, the cruets of wine and water; the deacon, standing at the steps of the altar, took the bread from the boy, mixed the chalice, and then immediately set both bread and chalice on the altar.

It has been seen (see Table annexed to this paper) that at Verdun, in 1554, the chalice was made before vesting. In 1699 the chalice is made at the offertory at low mass, but at the high mass there are ceremonies which may be ancient, and are certainly noteworthy.[1] When the

different account, and makes the preparation of the chalice and setting of the gifts on the altar to take place after the offertory. (*In ritus Laudunensis . . . observationes*, pars iii. § 19, Parisiis, 1662. p. 101.) So also does a thirteenth or fourteenth century ordinary of Laon, edited by U. Chevalier. (*Ordinaires de l'Eglise cathédrale de Laon*, Paris, 1897. p. 14.)

[1] *Missale Virdunense*, Virduni, 1699. Ritus servandus, cap. vi. in missa maiori. In 1717 Martène and Durand describe the making of the chalice as at the beginning of mass (*Voyage littéraire*, Paris, 1717, Partie ii. p. 94), and that this was also retained at the collegiate church of St. Mary Magdalene. Verdun was the home of ancient customs at the time of their visit.

collects are finished the deacon goes up to the altar, and carries the mass-book and its cushion to the gospel end. Then he puts the chalice at the epistle end, spreads the corporal, and puts upon the altar the paten with the bread, then mixes the wine and water in the chalice (the water having been just blessed by the priest in his sedile, and having been brought by an acolyte), and sets the chalice on the corporal in the midst of the altar; the paten with the bread on the chalice and the palla upon all, and then returns to his own sedile on the left of the celebrant.

In the missal of 1829 the mixing takes place at the offertory both at high and low mass.

At Tours, when the archbishop was present, the chalice was brought to him by the deacon as soon as the priest had gone up to the altar. The archbishop then himself poured the wine and water into the chalice, but we are not told whether the chalice is then set on the altar or on a credence.[1]

At Noyon, while *Kyrie* was being said,[2] the subdeacon takes the chalice to the deacon, who is saying *Kyrie* at the altar on the right of the priest, and the deacon then pours in wine; and after the water has been blessed by the celebrant, the subdeacon pours some of it into the chalice, which is then taken away to the credence until the offertory; though from a rubric later on[3] the chalice may, in some cases, at once have been set on the altar.[4]

Like this was the practice described by Martène at

[1] [Le Brun des Marettes] *Voyages liturgiques de France . . . par le sieur de Moleon*, Paris, 1718. p. 115. The cruets were of silver, and each held a pint a-piece. Compare those in use at the high altar at Durham before the Reformation: "Two gilt Cruitts that did hold a quart a peece parcell gilt and grauen all over." (*Rites of Durham*, edited by J. T. Fowler, Surtees Society, 1903. p. 9.)

[2] *Missale Noviomense* (de Broglie episcopo) 1770. Ritus in missa maiori. Pars iii. cap. iii.

[3] See cap. vii. de offertorio, p. xliii.

[4] I have examined the Missal of 1631, but do not find directions for the mixing at any time; the elements would seem to be ready prepared when the anthem of the offertory is sung.

St. Wast in the Low Countries, where the acolytes set down their candlesticks during *Kyrie* and then go to the altar to prepare the matter of the sacrifice; obleys for those who are to communicate, and they then pour the wine into the chalice, which done, they carry it at once behind the altar.[1] At the abbey of St. James at Liège the deacon and subdeacon prepared the matter of the sacrifice at the credence during *Kyrie*.[2]

This ceremony at the abbeys of the Low Countries brings us to the religious orders. Though here and there at places like St. Wast, these ancient customs may have held their ground, yet in the greater number of the religious houses which accepted the *missale monasticum* of Paul V. the Roman ceremonies of preparation and of oblation must have been adopted as well; that is, at low mass, where in monasteries the preparation of the host and chalice in the vestry were so often combined, the preparation of the two species was now separated, one being made in the vestry, the other at the altar after the offertory.

The Dominicans, however, have held their old customs to this day. At low mass they still continue to mix the chalice as soon as they approach the altar and before they have said the preliminary prayers before the introit. At high mass, after the epistle, the elements are brought by the subdeacon to the priest and deacon sitting in their seats near to the altar; the host is first looked at, and then put on the paten; wine and water are then poured into the chalice, in the hands of the subdeacon, who then carries the vessels to the epistle end of the altar, where they remain covered with a silk veil until after the offertory anthem; then they are moved to the midst of the altar. These ceremonies can be seen readily enough by any one who will take the pains to attend a high mass in a chapel attached to a Dominican convent,

[1] Marténe and Durand, *Voyage littéraire de deux religieux bénédictins*, Paris, 1724. Second voyage, partie iii. p. 68.

[2] *Ibid.* p. 174.

and secure a favourable place for witnessing what is done. They correspond with those described in a Dominican missal published at Rome in 1705, and with what I myself have witnessed at Rome many times in the church of S. Maria sopra Minerva.

The Carmelites or White friars had a liturgy very like that of the Dominicans, and their ceremonies were also closely akin. At low mass the preparation and offering of the elements before service took place just as in the Dominican rite; at high mass, the ceremonies were also very much the same, only the celebrant appears to have stood at the altar while the chalice was mixed, and the elements, as soon as prepared, were set on the middle of the altar. These ceremonies were retained into the middle of the seventeenth century[1]; there seems to be some evidence that in 1678 these ceremonies had disappeared.[2] It is certain that they are now no longer practised.

IV.—ENGLISH LITURGIES.

The penitential formerly put forward as the work of Theodore, Archbishop of Canterbury from 669 to 690, which contains a direction that in the Eucharist wine shall be mixed with water, does not seem now to be allowed by scholars as genuine,[3] though it is no doubt of great age. Even if admitted as the work of Theodore, it teaches nothing about the time in the liturgy at which the chalice was mixed; and the same remark applies to

[1] *Missale Ordinis Fratrum Beatissimæ Dei Genitricis Mariæ de Monte Carmelo*, Romæ, 1640. An approbation by Gregory XIII. dated 1583, is prefixed.

[2] *Ordinarium seu Caeremoniale Fratrum Discalceatorum B. Virginis Mariæ de Monte Carmelo*, Bruxellis, 1678, cap. iv. § iii. p. 107.

[3] A. W. Haddan and W. Stubbs, *Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents*, Oxford, vol. iii. p. 173.

the laws published under the name of King Edgar and Aelfric.[1]

These documents give us no sort of hint of the time at which the chalice was made. In the Irish tract on the Mass which accompanies the Stowe missal there is indeed very important imformation about the time of the mixing of the chalice, and of the time at which the gifts were set on the altar. Earlier commentators on the Stowe missal seem to have formed the opinion that the mixed chalice was not used because they found no directions therefor in the Latin text. But Mr. Whitley Stokes' translation of the Irish tract,[2] which accompanies the Latin text, has made it very clear that the mixed chalice was used, and that the time of mixing was before the service. I will give the words of the Irish tract in Mr. Whitley Stokes' version. It is a mystical explanation of the Mass, and, after speaking of the altar, the tract reads :

"Water, first, into the chalice, and this is chanted thereat : *Peto te Pater, deprecor te Fili, obsecro te Spiritus Sancte*, to wit, the figure of the people that was poured forth into the church.

"The Host, then, upon the altar, to wit, the turtle dove. This is chanted thereat, to wit, *Jesus Christus, Alpha et Omega, hoc est principium et finis*. A figure of

[1] B. Thorpe, *Ancient Laws and Institutes of England*, Record Commission, 1840. pp. 304, 398, 471.

[2] Whitley Stokes, *The Irish Passages in the Stowe Missal*, published in *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung*, Berlin, 1882, Bd. xxvi. pp. 497–519, in English. This tract was also privately printed at Calcutta. See also Charles Plummer, in the same Journal, 1884, Bd. xxvii. pp. 441–448, for important comments on the Irish fraction. For these references I am indebted to Mr. Whitley Stokes. There is also a valuable paper by the Rev. Dr. B. MacCarthy, in the *Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy*, Dublin, vol. xxvii. p. 245. The interpretation of the Irish tracts given by Dr. MacCarthy is, from a liturgical point of view, identical with that of Mr. Whitley Stokes. A fresh version of the Irish tracts has lately appeared in Whitley Stokes and John Strachan, *Thesaurus Palæo-hibernicus*, Cambridge, 1903. vol. ii. p. 252, and it will be reprinted by the authors' permission in the forthcoming edition of the Stowe Missal to be issued by the Henry Bradshaw Society.

Christ's Body which was set in the linen sheet of Mary's womb.

" Wine then for water into the chalice,[1] to wit, Christ's Godhead for his Manhood and for the people at the time of [his] begetting: this is chanted hereat: *Remittit Pater, indulget Filius, miseretur Spiritus Sanctus.*

" What is chanted of the Mass thereafter, both introit and prayers and addition, as far as the lesson of the Apostles [the epistle] and the psalm of degrees [the gradual] that is, a figure of the law of nature," etc.

It is clear enough, then, that the chalice was made before the introit was sung; and all will notice the singular manner in which the mixing is made; first, water is poured into the chalice, and, as another Irish tract tells us,[2] in three portions, with the invocation of the three persons of the Holy Trinity. Then the bread is set on the altar; and, last of all, the wine, also in three portions, is poured into the chalice with a like invocation. It seems clear that the gifts were set on the altar before the beginning of the service.

By the text of the Stowe missal we know that between the epistle and gospel there was a partial uncovering of the chalice. There is also a Latin rubric: *Hic elevatur lintiamen de calice.*[3] This ceremony should be borne in mind, for we shall meet with the same custom in England and elsewhere just before the Reformation.

There is no doubt that the Stowe missal contains a Roman canon; one of those early recensions that may be found before the text of the canon had become crystallized. But at the end of this canon a fraction takes place, which at once recalls the Mozarabic fraction,

[1] Dr. MacCarthy translates: "Wine afterwards upon water in the chalice." (p. 246.)

[2] Whitley Stokes, *op. cit.* p. 511, translation of *Lebar Brecc.* I have not heard of any other ancient rite in which the water is first poured into the chalice.

[3] See F. E. Warren, *Liturgy and Ritual of the Celtic Church*, Oxford, 1881. p. 230. The Stowe Missal is about to be edited by Dr. G. F. Warner, of the British Museum, for the Henry Bradshaw Society, in collotype.

though the Mozarabic is indeed much simpler. It may be that in Ireland, or perhaps in Britain, the Gregorian canon was inserted into Hispano-Gallican rites and ceremonies, as we know was the case with the Gallican liturgy shortly before its abolition.[1] The missal itself contains such a well-known Hispano-Gallican formula as *vere Sanctus* ending in *Qui pridie*, which introduces the consecration. Mr. Whitley Stokes has rendered a signal service to liturgy by his translation of these two Irish tracts, and by bringing out the existence of Gallican customs in Ireland, where they have been long suspected. The preparation of the gifts before the beginning of the service corresponds with Mgr. Duchesne's account of the Gallican Liturgy.

With these Irish practices of preparing the gifts and setting them on the altar before the service, and of uncovering them between the epistle and gospel, we may very well compare similar customs elsewhere. Thomas Becon, a profane and obscene writer indeed, describes the English low mass before the Reformation, but in his book he gives information which cannot be had elsewhere : " Ye come unto the altare with your mass-booke, corporasse, chalice and bread, with such other trynckettes." [2] Now, this makes it plain, according to Becon, that one of the gifts, the bread, was set on the altar at the beginning of the service ; and it is highly probable that the chalice also contained, at the time that it was brought to the altar, the necessary mixture of wine and water ; for after the epistle this writer says : " Ye go to the other ende of the altare to rede the gospel. But first of all ye uncover the chalice, and looke whether youre drynke be

[1] Mabillon, *Museum Italicum*, Lut. Paris, 1724. t. i. p. 279.

[2] Thomas Becon, *The Displayeng of the Popysh Masse*, contained in collected edition of his *Works*, 1563. part iii. fol. xxxviii. verso. When Becon gets beyond his own field of observation, the following passage on the same page will show how trustworthy he is : "The Grekes . . . use also wyne onely in their cuppe, whereas the Latin Chirch customably mingle water." And I must own, that even on his own ground, I do not not feel the confidence in Becon's statements that I once did.

there or no, lest ye should chaunce to be deceaved when the tyme of your repast come." [1] This is the precise moment of the half-uncovering of the Stowe missal. And it is plain also that the "drynke" which the honey-tongued Becon calls "a sponeful of wyne mingled with water," [2] was in the chalice before the uncovering took place.

Becon's words run almost like a translation of a rubric from the Coutances missal of 1557. The priest, in this rite, prepares the bread and makes the chalice before vesting, and it would seem that he takes the gifts with him to the altar when he begins the service; for after the epistle the rubric begins to speak of "Evangelium. Quod lecturus deferat librum ad sinistram partem altaris. Et visitet an sit vinum et aqua in calice, discoperiendo (*sic*) calicem et levando patenam et panem super positum et respiciendo intra calicem," etc.[3]

There was a like uncovering of the chalice in a Breton rite, that of St. Pol de Leon, an episcopal town on the north coast of Brittany. But it does not appear certain that the chalice had been prepared. "Amoto corporali desuper calicem, antequam incipiat evangelium." [4]

In the important little French tract, *Alphabetum Sacerdotum*,[5] the same visitation of the chalice before the gospel is ordered.

Thus in the North of France, in England, and in Ireland, this uncovering of the chalice between the epistle and gospel takes place; and it would seem to bring with it as an almost necessary consequence the

[1] Fo. xxxix. verso.

[2] Fo. xl. verso.

[3] *Missale cunctis sacerdotibus iuxta Constantien. diocesis etc.* Impressum Rothomagi, 1557, fo. See the reprint of the Ordinary in *Tracts on the Mass*, Henry Bradshaw Society, 1904. p. 58.

[4] Ex ms. missali A. de Longeuil episcopi Lioniensis, in Martène, *De antiquis ecclesiæ ritibus*, lib. i. cap. iv. art. xii. Ordo xxxiv. Bassani, 1788. t. i. p. 238. Antoine de Longueil was bishop of St. Pol de Leon from 1484 to 1500. (Gams, *Series Episcoporum*, Ratisbonæ, 1873. p. 622.)

[5] See the reprint in *Tracts on the Mass*, Henry Bradshaw Society, 1904. p. 39.

preparation and setting of the elements on the altar before the service.

To turn back again from the time just before the Reformation to the introduction of the Norman liturgies into England, which took place soon after the Conquest. There is evidence, for example, that the diocese of Lincoln adopted the liturgical books of Rouen,[1] and there is a tradition that in the reform attributed to St. Osmund, the ceremonies of Rouen were adopted at Sarum. Other Norman dioceses are also thought to have influenced the English rites.[2] Mr. Henry Bradshaw thought the Bayeux ceremonies exceedingly important[3]; and we have just had an instance of the conformity of one of the ceremonies of the diocese of Coutances with an English practice. But there is no direct evidence of the time of the mixing of the chalice in England; immediately after the Conquest though, as to the time of setting the gifts on the altar, it would appear, from the Constitutions of Lanfranc, that they were put on the altar after the gospel, and the wine was then in all likelihood already mixed with water before it was given to the priest[4]; water certainly was mixed with the wine, for it was the duty of the sexton daily to prepare wine and water for the mass.[5] Lanfranc himself must have known the use of Bec; and at Bec it was the custom to mix the water with the wine before the priest vested for mass.[6] The same custom prevailed at Rouen.[7] At Bec it is not certain that this was the practice at high mass; but at Rouen it is clear that the ceremonies of high mass are

[1] *Statuta Ecclesiæ Cathedralis Lincolniensis*, Londini, 1873. Edidit Christophorus [Wordsworth] divina permissione Episcopus Lincolniensis, p. 3.

[2] But the examination of the Norman books in the collation undertaken for the notes to the Westminster Missal, edited for the Henry Bradshaw Society, did not confirm this tradition as to the rites.

[3] G. W. Prothero, *A Memoir of Henry Bradshaw*, London, 1888. p. 283.

[4] Wilkins, *Concilia*, Lond. 1737. vol. i. p. 355.

[5] Wilkins, *Ibid.* p. 349.

[6] Edm. Martène, *De antiquis ecclesiæ ritibus*, lib. i. cap. iv. art. xii. Ordo xxxvi. Bassani, 1788. t. i. p. 242.

[7] *Idem*, Ordo xxvi. p. 228.

being described, as the deacon, the clerks, and incense are spoken of. At Bayeux the mixing took place between the epistle and gospel at high mass.[1] At Avranches, in the eleventh century, the mixing certainly took place after the gospel at high mass, at the same time as the setting of the bread and wine on the altar.[2]

In Normandy, then, we find all the three places usual for making the chalice : before mass, between the epistle and gospel, and after the offertory. It would be interesting if we could make out which of these was the most common in England in the centuries before the Reformation ; but it is not easy.

At the Sarum high mass the elements were brought into the church after the introit, and put in the place assigned for them. A credence, or table of proposition, is not expressly named. The chalice was brought in during the epistle, and taken to the place of administration,[3] and the corporals spread on the altar by the acolyte. The epistle over, the subdeacon, after washing his hands, made ready the bread and wine, with the aid of the acolyte, in the place of administration. Up to this point the Consuetudinary[4] is our authority, but the Missal adds that the subdeacon makes ready the bread, wine, and water, after the grail and other liturgical formulæ have been said privately by the priest, the water being first blessed by the priest, apparently while he is sitting in the sedilia.[5] After the anthem of the offertory,

[1] *Idem*, Ordo xxiv. p. 225. Cf. *Instructiones perutiles* of the Missal of 1545.

[2] Ioannes Abrincensis episcopus, *Liber de officiis ecclesiasticis*, § 66. Migne's ed. col. 35.

[3] The place of administration I take to be simply the place of preparation, be it altar or credence. (See above, Part II. p. 130, note 2.)

[4] *The Register of S. Osmund* edited by W. H. Rich Jones, Rolls Series, Lond. 1883. Vol. i. pp. 148–52.

[5] *Missale ad usum insignis et præclaræ Ecclesiæ Sarum*, Burntisland, 1861–83. Ed. F. H. Dickinson, coll. 587, 589, 593. The rubric in a manuscript Sarum missal of the first third of the fifteenth century (British Museum, Harl. 3866, fo. 135) is as follows : Lecta uero epistola cantetur Graduale et *Alleluia* uel tractus uel Sequencia. et interim illis dictis : a sacerdote cum suis ministris. diaconus abluens manus corporalia in altare inferat. apponens panem. uinum

the elements are given to the priest, who places them in the middle of the altar, according to the Missal.

It thus seems that the rubrics of Sarum may be explained on either hypothesis : that the *locus administrationis* was a modern credence table; or some part of the altar, the south end of which would be most convenient.

At Wells the customs would seem to have been identical with those at Sarum in the preparation of the elements at the *locus ministrationis* ; but there appears to be no mention of the exact moment of the mixing of the chalice ; the Wells *Ordinale* follows almost word for word in this matter the Sarum Consuetudinary, which is also silent.[1]

At York there are no means in the Missal for forming a decided opinion. It would seem not unlikely, however, that the elements were ready on the altar when the priest said the anthem of the offertory.[2]

At Hereford, after the anthem of the offertory, the things needful for the Sacrament were ministered to the priest, and apparently at this place the water was mixed with the wine in the chalice.[3] These directions rather favour the view that at Hereford the setting of the bread and wine on the altar did not take place until after the anthem of the offertory.

Much more is known about the ceremonies of Lincoln, especially since the publication of Messrs. Wordsworth

et aquam in calicem infundens. ministrante sibi subdiacono. benedictione aque prius a sacerdote petita hoc modo *Benedicite* . . . Sacerdos uero interim sedeat in sua sede. The variation between the manuscript and the printed missals is thus marked ; and the same direction that the deacon shall prepare the chalice is found in several other manuscripts, but they do not always add that the subdeacon is to help him. In a Bodleian MS. (Rawl. Liturg. c. 2, fo. 111 *b*) it is "acolito sibi ministrante."

[1] Herbert Edward Reynolds, *Wells Cathedral*, 1881. Ordinale et Statuta, Lambeth MS. 729, p. 36.

[2] *Missale ad usum insignis ecclesiae Eboracensis*, Surtees Society, 1874. Ed. Henderson, vol. i. p. 171.

[3] *Missale Helford.* Rothomag. 1502. See also Dr. Henderson's edition of 1874, p. 117.

and Reynolds' edition of the ceremonial portion (*consuetudines circa divinum officium*) of the *Liber Niger*, written about the middle of the thirteenth century. The Mass has gone so far that the priest has said the collects, epistle, gradual, alleluia, and sequence, and is now in his *sedile*, saying certain prayers :—

Lecta epistola in pulpito, *recedet subdiaconus* [these two words over an erasure] principalis ex sinistra parte chori, socio suo prenotato precedente et librum portante,

et cum venerit ad hostium chori obuiabit eis turiferarius, accipiendo librum et diacono portando.

Eant tunc in vestiarium et ibi dabitur eis calix cum corporali et pane per manus Sacriste, siue sui clerici, et tunc secundarius mundabit calicem ab omni sorde

et dabit principali suo calicem predictam in manibus,

et sic portabunt cum sudario quodam

et ille secundarius portabit corporale cum sudario quodam : et sic eant coniunctim ad altare : Et cum venerint ad gradum superiorem altaris, ibi genubus flexis dicant. *Aue Maria* et cetera,

et surgant, et ponent calicem super altare.

Deinde portabit principalis subdiaconus calicem sacerdoti, [et] secundarius phiolas cum vino et aqua :

Et ibi infundet sacerdos primo vinum ; secundo aquam modicam ; tamen quod stet per substanciam et colorem vini. Deinde portabit calicem retro altare aliquo loco ydoneo et decente,

et displicet diaconus secundarius corporale super altare predictum.[1]

After the creed, there is, strange to say, no mention of the chalice and host being brought to the priest, but there is a direction to cense the chalice and corporal immediately after the Creed. The corporal is said to

[1] *Consuetudinarium de Divinis Officiis Ecclesie Lincolniensis*, tempore Richardi de Gravesend Episcopi (A.D. 1258–1279). Ed. Chr. Wordsworth and H. E. Reynolds, 1885 ; no place, p. 13. Mr. Wordsworth has, with his usual kindness, compared the above with Mr. Henry Bradshaw's transcript from the original "Black Book," so that I am able to give exactly the spelling of the earliest extant copy (circ. 1400).

be spread on the altar. Where was, then, the chalice *retro altare?* Is the fit and proper place, *retro altare*, on the altar itself?

So much for the mediæval diocesan customs of England that are known to us. But the monastic uses may not be neglected, especially as each considerable monastery had a use of its own, which may throw much light upon that of the diocese in which it was. We may take Westminster first, as one of the chief English convents; and its mass book, written between 1382 and 1384, has been preserved in the library of the Dean and Chapter.

The mixing at Westminster took place at a very noteworthy moment, between the taking of the stole and the chasuble; and the evidence of the kind of service is as much in favour of high mass as of low mass. After washing his hands, the priest about to celebrate puts on the mass vestments, the alb, girdle, maniple, and stole; then comes this direction: *Quando miscendo vino aquam fundit in calicem hostia prius super patenam decenter prelocata.* Deus qui humane substancie.[1] It will be noted that a sort of preparation of the bread takes place at the mixing of the cup, in accordance with a sound tradition that the bread and cup should be prepared at the same time.[2] It is possible also that the prepared gifts were not set on the altar until after the offertory; for before the single prayer of the oblation, which was only to be said if the priest liked, he is to set the chalice and host on the corporals.[3] It may of course be that the

[1] *Missale ad usum Ecclesie Westmonasteriensis*, MS. in the Chapter Library, fo. 147. Henry Bradshaw Society. fasc. ii. col. 488.

[2] The Westminster books in all likelihood have preserved for us something of the usages of the diocese of London; for religious societies were accustomed on their foundation to adopt the rites and ceremonies of the diocese in which they found themselves. There is a notable instance in the case of the Dominicans in Lombardy who, not many years after their establishment, must have thrown aside their own liturgy, and adopted the Ambrosian because they found themselves in the diocese of Milan. The Franciscans at Milan had also to abandon their Roman liturgy for the Ambrosian. (Pietro Mazzuchelli, *Osservazione . . . sopra il rito ambrosiano*, Milano, 1828. p. 139.)

[3] Fo. 151 (in printed ed. fasc. ii. col. 500).

elements were only moved from one part of the altar to another.

I am indebted to Mr. Edmund Bishop, who, with Dom Aidan Gasquet, is editing the Consuetudinary of St. Mary's Abbey, York, for the information that at high mass there the chalice was made after the offertory, but at low mass before the service.

The Black Canons at Barnwell, Cambridgeshire, made the chalice at high mass between the epistle and gospel. It was the business of the subdeacon to make ready the obleys, the wine and water, and the corporals; and of the deacon to choose the obleys and give the chalice with the wine and water to the priest, if he pleased. At morrow mass the mixing might be made during the collects.[1]

Thus far only liturgical books have been quoted. We may now turn to evidence offered by writers on liturgical subjects, among whom it has already been necessary to mention Thomas Becon. Unpleasant as it is to bring such a witness to the notice of decent folk, yet his evidence is important, and the ceremonies which he describes may hardly be explained except on the theory that in the English mass the chalice was made in the vestry, or before the service, and brought with the bread and set on the altar when the priest came up to say mass. It seems reasonable to hold that Becon describes the common practice at low mass all over England.[2]

[1] Harl. MS. 3601. fo. 202 verso: It has been edited by Mr. J. W. Clark, Registrary of the University of Cambridge. (*The Observances in use at the Augustinian Priory of S. Giles and S. Andrew at Barnwell, Cambridgeshire*, Cambridge, Macmillan and Bowes, 1897. p. 114. cap. xxiii.)

[2] Mr. Christopher Wordsworth has pointed out to me that *The Storie of the Masse* in Caxton's *Golden Legend* contains a passage which distinctly describes the making of the chalice after the host has been offered. "The hoost . . . offreth it to god the fader, sayeng suspice sancte pater . . . after the preest makyth comyxcyon of wyne and water to gyder" (fo. ccccxxxvii. "Westmestre, 1483, by me Wyllyam Caxton.") But although the *Storie* is in English, yet the prayers of the offertory are not to be found in any English rite that I know of as yet; and one comes to the opinion that Caxton is merely giving a translation of a description of a foreign rite, probably the Roman.

With *The Book of Ceremonies* the period of reform is clearly reached, although still of a conservative reform. In this the chalice is mixed at the offertory. "Then followeth the Offertory . . . at which tyme the Mynyster laying the brede upon the aulter, maketh the chalice, myxyng the water with the wyne."[1]

What is the exact value of this book as an exponent of mediæval practice? Most likely it is not very great; it is rather the first attempt at reform, suggestions for the future more than descriptions of the present.

This future came about in Edward VI.'s time, when a liturgy for the whole Church of England was first published, and with the title: The Supper of the Lord and the Holy Communion, commonly called the Mass. One great reform was made in this liturgy; all anticipation of the offertory was forbidden, and accordingly all verbal oblation became unnecessary, and the Gallican prayers which are still retained in the Roman missal disappeared. But apparently it was not yet possible to separate the idea of oblation from preparation, and accordingly the chalice was directed to be made at the same time that the elements were to be set on the altar.[2]

With the second book, published at one of the most shameful periods of English history, all directions for preparing the elements or even for setting them on the altar disappeared. Whether by design or accident, there is certainly a resemblance between the arrangement of parts in the second Prayer Book of Edward VI. and the Mozarabic service and the Old-Gallican; and in one of these two ancient liturgies there seems, as I have said,

[1] Cotton MSS. British Museum. Cleopatra, E. 5. fo. 280. (John Strype, *Eccles. Memorials*, Oxford, 1822. vol. i. part ii. p. 422.)

[2] Up to this date each diocese had its own liturgy, appointed by the Bishop with the consent of the Chapter, and in several dioceses the Bishop and Chapter had agreed to the use of the Sarum. But there was no liturgy for the Church of England. The first liturgy of the Church of England was Edward VI.'s first book. I am aware that in Henry VIII.'s time the Convocation of Canterbury had ordered its clergy to recite the Sarum Breviary; but it should be noticed that this was only the breviary, and apparently the order only concerned the private recitation of Divine Service.

much evidence that the preparation of the elements, and their setting on the altar, took place before the service began.

With the death of Edward VI. England breathed again. With Queen Mary came a return of the mediæval service books ; and with them, no doubt, the preparation of the gifts before the service, and anticipation of the offertory. In this matter things were hardly mended under Queen Elizabeth, for in her book no directions were inserted for the preparation of the gifts or for the time at which they should be set on the altar. In all likelihood they were, in most cases, set on the altar before the service began, as in the mediæval service. We have mainly negative evidence as to the preparation. Thomas Bilson, writing in Queen Elizabeth's time, says, " We forbid no man to temper his wine with water if hee find either himselfe annoied with the use of meere wine, or the wine of it selfe to bee heady and strong." [1] It will be seen that this writer can hardly be quoted in support of a ceremonial mixture being practised in his day.

With King James I. an improvement visibly sets in. He was the first of the English sovereigns to be crowned with a vernacular service, which, it may be noted, is little more than a translation from the old Latin. In this order, after the offertory, the King offers the bread and wine for his communion and a mark of gold.[2] It seems likely that the mixing of the chalice was an ordinary custom in the Chapel Royal of this king. Lancelot Andrewes was appointed Dean of the Chapel Royal in 1619, and it is asserted that " the practice of *Mingling Wine and Water* in the *Chalice* had place in His *Majesties Chappel Royal* all the time that Bishop *Andrews* was

[1] Thomas Bilson, Warden of Winchester College, afterwards Bishop of Winchester, *The true difference betweene Christian subjection and unchristian rebellion*, Oxford, 1585. p. 666.

[2] J. Wickham Legg, *Coronation Order of King James I.* London, F. E. Robinson, 1902. p. 40.

Dean." [1] Furthermore, on the eve of the departure of the Prince of Wales for Madrid, the King gave, amongst others, these instructions to the chaplains that attended him : " That the communion be celebrated in due form, with an Oblation of every Communicant, and admixing Water with the Wine, the Communion to be as often used as it shall please the Prince to set down : Smooth Wafers to be used for the Bread." [2]

Though a mixed cup was to be used, yet no information is given us when it was mixed. But there can be no doubt that the time at which Bishop Andrewes mixed the cup was in the interval between the prayer of humble access and the prayer of consecration. The bread was also prepared at the same moment as the cup. But it is not clear when the elements were set on the holy table. They may have been put on the altar before the prayer for the church militant, but a separation was clearly not made until just before the prayer of consecration.[3] That this was the case is rendered more likely by the directions for the consecration at Abbey Dore. The bread and wine were in this service offered after " Let your light " ; then other oblations were presented and the prayer for the church militant said : but in the interval before the prayer of consecration the bread was laid on the paten, and the wine poured into the chalice and a little water added.[4] Archbishop Laud, we know, used a credence,

[1] *The Primitive Rule of Reformation according to the First Liturgy of K. Edward VI.* London, Mary Thompson, 1688. p. 20.

[2] Jeremy Collier, *An Ecclesiastical History of Great Britain*, London, 1714. vol. ii. (Part ii. Book viii.) p. 726.

[3] Lancelot Andrewes, *The Form of Consecration of a Church or Chappel*, etc. London, T. Garthwait, 1659. p. 83. "Lotisque manibus, pane fracto, vino in Calicem effuso, et aqua admista, stans ait Almighty God our Heavenly Father." See also Andrewes' Works in *Library of Anglo-Catholic Theology*. (Oxford, 1854. p. 157.) Before prayer of consecration, but after that of humble access : "Postea panes e canistro in patinam ponit : dein vinum e doliolo [dolio : MS. B.M.] adinstar Sanguinis erumpentis [dirumpens : MS. B.M. erumpens : MS. Lambeth] in calicem haurit ; tum aquam e Triconali [triclinari : MS. B.M.] scypho [cypho MS. B.M.] immiscet, etc.

[4] John Fuller Russell, *The Form and Order of the consecration of the parish church of Abbey Dore*, London, 1874. pp. 27–30.

for it was confessed at his trial[1] : and Brett tells us that he restored the use of the mixed chalice at All Hallows, Barking. But Laud was not minister of All Hallows' Barking, though he may have influenced his nephew.

Laud's influence upon the Scottish book of 1637 may perhaps have been overrated ; but it should be noticed that in this book we first find directions for setting the bread and wine on the altar at the offertory in words which clearly foreshadow the rubric of 1662. Nothing is said, however, about the mixed chalice.

With the Restoration of King Charles II. came the revision of the liturgy, and a direction to set the bread and wine on the holy table at the offertory was now added. But nothing is said about the preparation of the gifts ; and though there is evidence that the mixed chalice continued in use, yet we have singularly little evidence of the time at which it was mixed. Bishop Wilson, in the edition of *Sacra Privata* which has been restored according to the manuscript in the bishop's own hand, gives private devotions " Upon placing the bread and wine and water upon the altar."[3] Nothing, however, is said of the time at which the chalice was mixed ; a regret is expressed later on that the rubric in the Prayer Book is so rarely observed, and it may be feared that, if a plain direction like this were not observed, a practice even of venerable antiquity like the mixed chalice would hardly become very general. Brett speaks of it as done in the Church of England, but as if there were but few who did it. " It may perhaps be said that the Church of *England* has not prohibited a mixed cup ; she has only not enjoyned it ; that in some of the publick Parish

[1] William Laud, *Works*, vol. iv. p. 210, 1854 (*Library of Anglo-Catholic Theology*). Dr. Haywood confessed (as it was urged) "that he fetched the elements from the credential (a little side table as they called it), and set them reverently upon the communion table."

[2] Thomas Brett, *A Collection of the Principal Liturgies*, London, 1720. Dissertation, § 41, p. 357.

[3] Thomas Wilson, Bishop of Sodor and Man, Keble's Edition in *Library of Anglo-Catholic Theology*, vol. v. p. 74.

Churches the Priest does put Water into the sacramental Wine, and that we do not find any have been censured for it." [1] The priests who used the mixed cup seem to have been few in number. A controversial writer speaks of "the few Clergy who have followed this Practice"; [2] and John Johnson, favourably disposed towards it as he may have been, says, "All learned Charitable Christians will judge favourably of the Church of *England* for using none"; [3] that is, no water in the sacred cup. If, then, according to Bishop Wilson, there were but few who followed the plain direction of the Prayer Book to set the bread and wine on the altar at a particular moment of the service, it is likely enough that there were but few who would follow a custom less distinctly commanded than the former.

But these few were no doubt increased in number after the controversy raised by the Nonjurors on this point, and which controversy passed from mere discussion into practice on the publication of the Nonjurors' liturgy in 1718.[4] In this order the chalice is directed to be mixed at the offertory, with an addition that I have never seen in any other liturgy before 1718: "putting thereto, *in the view of the People*, a little pure and clean water." The same particular direction may be found in the liturgy [5] attributed to Thomas Deacon, who was a bishop among the Nonjurors: "The Priest [or Deacon, p. 318]. . . shall mix the Wine and Water openly in the

[1] Thomas Brett, *A Collection of the Principal Liturgies*, London, 1720. Dissertation concerning the preceding Liturgies, § 26, p. 225.

[2] *No Necessity to alter the Common Prayers*, London, John Morphew, 1718. p. 3.

[3] John Johnson, *The Unbloody Sacrifice*, London, 1718. Part ii. (chap. i. sect. iv.) p. 59.

[4] *A Communion Office taken partly from Primitive Liturgies and partly from the First English Reformed Common Prayer Book*, etc. London, James Bettenham, 1718, 8vo, no pagination. There is no direction for the mixed chalice in the earlier attempt: *The Liturgy of the Ancients represented as near as well may be in English Forms*, London, 1696, privately printed, p. 13.

[5] *A compleat Collection of Devotions both publick and private*, London, 1734. pp. 74, 85, 318.

view of the People," immediately before the gifts are set on the altar at the offertory, notwithstanding that an opportunity of preparing the elements at " the prothesis " before the liturgy is given, as the deacon is ordered to set bread, wine, and water on " the prothesis " before the introit. It seems to have been thought of considerable importance that the water should be added to the wine in the sight of the people, and at the offertory, when the *missa fidelium* was beginning. It may perhaps be thought that this is evidence that some in the Church of England from which the Nonjurors had seceded mixed the cup not in the sight of the people. In our time we have met with a feeling like this; and no less a ritualist than Mr. Maskell has given expression to it. He says: " If this mixture be not public as of old, and explained to the people, the purpose of it must be lost." [1] Mr. Maskell, when he wrote, can hardly have been aware of the number of rites " of old " in which the mixture was not in the sight of the people; and if the meaning of this mixture be not explained to them, whose fault is that ? [2]

[1] William Maskell, *The Ancient Liturgy of the Church of England*, Second edition, London, 1846. Preface p. cxxxv. It is the second, not any later edition that must be consulted.

[2] At the time of the publication of the Lambeth Judgment, much was said of the importance of the mixing of the chalice in public and of the " rigorously ceremonious " nature of that mixing. If we regard the opinion of Francis Suarez, whose authority is recognized in the Roman Church, the lights of which some among us wish us most carefully to follow, we shall see that the time of the mixing of the chalice was, to him, almost a matter of indifference. His last sentence quoted below is specially worthy of notice, as he tells us that he who follows the local custom will not be far wrong. He has previously insisted upon the mixture being made in the chalice and at the time of the celebration of the eucharist, not in the flagon or the day before, and he adds: De toto autem tempore a principio missae usque ad oblationem nulla est praecepti necessitas. Soto et Sylvester magis probare videntur, quod in initio missae fiat, quia est maior mora temporis, ut aqua in vinum convertatur. Alensis vero dicit in missis solemnibus fieri post Evangelium; in privatis vero solere antea fieri. Contrarium autem a multis servatur, scilicet, ut in privatis missis fiat post Evangelium, in solemnibus autem antea. In missali tamen Romano dicitur fieri debere post Evangelium, facta hostiae oblatione; et hic modus est satis tutus et sufficiens. Denique in hoc, qui secutus fuerit suae Ecclesiae consuetudinem, non errabit. (F. Suarez, *Opera omnia*, ed. C. Berton, Parisiis, 1860. t. xx. p. 827. De Sacramentis Qu. lxxiv. art. viii. § iii.)

The influence of the Nonjurors upon the disestablished Church of Scotland is well known, and it is very likely due to the liturgy of 1718 that in the Church of Scotland the preparation of the gifts was, after the middle of the last century, deferred to the time when they were about to be set on the altar at the offertory. Before and after the revolution it would appear from an important memorandum, drawn up by Bishop Rattray, and lately printed by the Bishop of Edinburgh, "that it was the custom in many places to mix a little pure and clean water with the Sacramental Wine, not indeed at the Altar, but in preparing the elements before. This custom was almost universal throughout the North, perhaps from the very time of the Reformation." [1] For this last suggestion I can find no indication of the time of mixing in the Scottish missals that have come down to us,[2] except, of course, in the Stowe missal, the directions of which may have been known to the Irish missionaries who preached the gospel in Caledonia, and retained when St. Margaret made so many other changes.

The close connexion of the American Church with the disestablished Scottish Church is well known. Bishop Seabury reprinted, for the use of his own diocese in Connecticut, an edition of the Scottish Communion Office, in which one of the few changes made was a direction to mix the chalice at the offertory, but this is not ordered to be in the sight of the people.[3] In the American Common Prayer Book, which appeared in the year following after Bishop Seabury's publication, there is no direction to mix the chalice at all; the rubric is simply a reproduction of that of the English book of 1662.

[1] John Dowden, *An historical account of the Scottish Communion Office*, Edinburgh, 1884. pp. 53, 326.

[2] The Arbuthnott Missal, edited in 1864, at the Pitsligo Press, Burntisland, by the late Dr. Alexander Forbes, Bishop of Brechin.

[3] *Bishop Seabury's Communion Office*, 1786, p. 8; reproduced in fac-simile by the Rev. Samuel Hart, New York, 1883, second ed. I am indebted to the courtesy of the learned editor for a copy of this most interesting work.

A TABLE SHOWING THE LITURGICAL MOMENT OF THE MAKING OF THE CHALICE IN CERTAIN WESTERN RITES BEFORE 1570.

Name of Church or Order.	Authority.	Time in Liturgy.	Whether at Solemn or Private Mass.
Angers.	*Missale ad usum insignis ecclesie Andegavensis*, Rothomagi, 1523, fo. cxxii.	After washing hands and before vesting.	P ?
Coutances	*Missale cunctis sacerdotibus iuxta Constantiensis diocesis* etc. Rothomagi, 1557.	„	P ?
Autun.	*Sacrorum codex* (*vulgo Missale nuncupatus*) *iuxta ritum ecclesie Heduensis*, Hedue, 1556, fo. cxxxix.	„	P ?
Auxerre	Ex antiquo missali ecclesiae Autissiodorensis. (Edm. Martène, *de antiquis ecclesiae ritibus*, lib. i. cap. iv. art. i. § xiii.)	„	?
Monks of Bec.	Ex ms. codice Beccensis monasterii. (*Ibid.* lib. i. cap. iv. art. xii. Ord. xxxvi.)	„	?
Monks of Cluny.	[Marguard Hergott] *Vetus Disciplina Monastica*, 1726. Const. Cluniac. I. lxxii. p. 263.	„	P.
Monks of Hirschau.	*Ibid.* p. 454.	„	P.
Marbach.	Eusebius Amort, *Vetus Disciplina Canonicorum*, Venetiis, 1747, p. 407. Constitutions of Austin canons of 12th century, received in Germany.	„	P.
Verdun.	*Missale secundum usum . . . insignis ecclesie et diocesis Virdunensis*, Paris, 1544, fo. cxxxj.	„	?

Name of Church or Order.	Authority.	Time in Liturgy.	Whether at Solemn or Private Mass.
Geneva.	*Missale secundum usum Gebennens.* Lugd. Gul. Huyon, 1521. Scibile ac Promptuarium sacerdotibus necessarium.	After washing hands and before vesting.	?
Paris.	*Missale ad usum ecclesie Parisiensis*, Th. Kerver, 1501.	After washing hands and before vesting, or at least before gospel.	?
„	*Idem.* 1541, fo. clxxii. verso.	„	
„	*Idem.* 1543.	„	
„	*Idem.* 1559.	„	
Beauvais.	*Missale ad usum Insignis ecclesie Beluacensis*, Paris and Beauvais, G. de Pré and Charles Fabre, 1538, fo. cxlviii. verso.	„	
Rouen.	MS. *Ordo* of 13th century (Martène, *de antiquis ecclesiae ritibus*, lib. i. cap. iv. art. xii. ordo xxvi. Bassani, 1788, t. i. p. 228.)	After taking rochet and washing hands, but before taking mass. vestments.	S.
Rouen.	*Missale secundum usum insignis ecclesie Rothomagensis*, 1499.	„	?
Orleans.	*Breviarium diocesis Aurelianensis*, Parisiis, J. Kaerbriand; Aurelii, Martinet, 1542. 8° pars hyemalis.	„	? P.

Name of Church or Order.	Authority.	Time in Liturgy.	Whether at Solemn or Private Mass.
Monks of Westminster.	Abbot Litlington's Missal, in Chapter Library, written between 1382 and 1384, fo. 147*b*. (Edited by Henry Bradshaw Society, fasc. ii. col. 488).	During vesting, between stole and chasuble.	?
Monks of Ainay, Lyons.	*Missale secundum usum monasterii Sancti Martini Athanaci*, 1531.	„	?
St. Denis.	*Breviarium iuxta ritum regalis Cenobii christi martyris Areopagite Dionysii, nunc primum accuratissime Parisiis excussum.*	„	?
Macon.	*Missale secundum usum insignis ecclesie Matisconensis*, Lugduni, 1532, fo. cxxxix.	„	
Laon.	*Missale ad usum lauduneñ. ecclesie*, Paris, I. de Pré, 1491, fo.	During vesting, between stole and chasuble; or at least before gospel.	?
Chalons-sur-Marne.	*Missale ad usum ecclesie Cathalaunensis*, Parisiis, 1489, fo. ccli.	„	?
„	Ed. 1543. At end of book: Modus celebrandi fo. xxxii. verso.	Before vesting with amice.	
German Benedictines.	*Missale denuo diligentissime castigatum et revisum O. S. B. nigrorum monachorum per Germaniam*, Hagenoie, 1517, fo. cxxxiii.	Between vesting and *Judica*.	
Erfurt, St. Peter's.	British Museum, Add. MS. 10,927, fo. 112.	„	

Name of Church or Order.	Authority.	Time in Liturgy.	Whether at Solemn or Private Mass.
Palencia.	*Missale Pallantinum*, 1568, fo. ccclj.	Before mass begins.	P.
Milan.	*Missale Ambrosianum*, 1560, fo. 154 recto.	,,	P.
Canons of St. Victor at Paris.	*Missale Canonicorum regularium O.S.A. secundum ritum insignis ecclesie Sancti Victoris ad muros Parisienses*, Paris, Prevost. 1529.	After vesting and before approaching altar.	?
Chartres.	*Missale . . . Carnotense*, 1534. John Kerbriant, *alias* Huguelin, fo. cxliiii. recto.	After *confiteor* and kissing of *textus*, and before gospel.	S.
Astorga.	*Missale Asturicensis Ecclesie*, Astrucie, 1564.	After *Aufer a nobis* and kissing of altar ; or better after epistle.	?
Calagorra.	*Missale secundum consuetudinem Calagurritanensis et Calciatensis ecclesiarum*, 1554, fo. cxlvi.	After *confiteor* but before introit.	P.
Cistercian Monks.	*Consuetudines*, written between 1173 and 1191. (Ed. by Ph. Guignard, *Les monuments primitifs de la règle cistercienne*, Dijon, 1878, p. 142.)	After *confiteor ;* and if possible before priest says *Dominus vobiscum.*	S.
,,	*Liber usuum Cisterciensis Ordinis*, Paris, Engelbert de Marnet, 1531.	,,	S.

Name of Church or Order.	Authority.	Time in Liturgy.	Whether at Solemn or Private Mass.
Canons Regular of St. Denis at Rhemes.	*Constitutiones particulares Monasterii canonicorum regularium Sancti Dionysii Remensis.* (Edm. Martène, *op. cit.* appendix ad *antiquos ecclesiæ ritus*, t. iii. p. 298.)	At *Dominus vobiscum*	S.
Sicily.	*Missale Gallicanum ad consuetudinem Ecclesiarum Siculorum et precipue Messanensis accommodatum*, Venetiis, apud Iuntas, 1568, f. 99 recto.	After beginning introit and spreading corporal.	?
Agram.	*Missale secundum chorum almi episcopatus Zagrabiensis*, Venetiis, Liechtenstein, 1511.	Before introit, if priest so please: or immediately before gospel; or in cold weather, after offertory.	?
Siguenza.	*Missale ad usum ecclesie Seguntine*, Seguntie, 1552, f. cxix.	Before introit.	P.
St. Ouen, Rouen.	Ex veteri Breviario ad usum Rotomagensis S. Audoeni monasterio edito. (Edm. Martène, *de antiquis ecclesiæ ritibus*, lib. i. cap. iv. art. xii. ordo xxxvii.)	After censing altar at introit and before gospel.	S.
Carcassonne.	Missal, fo. 182 b. MS. 5698 in Bibliothèque de la Ville, Carcassonne, dated 1472.	After introit and before gospel.	

Name of Church or Order.	Authority.	Time in Liturgy.	Whether at Solemn or Private Mass.
Colen.	*Missale Diocesis Coloniense*, Parrhisiis, Nicolas Prevost and Arnold Byrckman, 1525. Preparamenta sacerdotum ad missam, pp. 2 and 3. The writer of *Die Liturgie der Erzdiöcese Köln*, Köln, 1868, p. 27, gives this as custom from 1494 to 1626, and considers that the mixing took place before *Kyrie*.	After introit and before gospel.	
Praemonstratensian Canons.	*Breviarium ordinis candidissimi Premonstraten.* Paris, Th. Kerver, 1507, Sign. small gothic a. viii. *b*.	„	
Toledo.	*Missale Toletanum*, Burgis, 1512. Regule sacerdotales, fo. cxviii.	Between approaching altar and reading the gospel, or before the deacon sings the respond.	S.
Bursfeld Benedictines.	*Ordinarius diuinorum nigrorum monachorum de obseruancia Bursfeldensi*, printed by the brothers of the common life at Marienthal, about 1475, capp. xliii. xlvi.	Before *Dominus Vobiscum* or at end of collect.	S & P.
„	*Ceremoniæ nigrorum monachorum O. S. B. de observantia Bursfeldensi . . . A.D.* 1502. *Kal. Ianuarii.* Paris, 1610, cap. xlii. p. 114.	Between *Kyrie* and *Gloria*.	S.
Cordova.	*Missale Cordubensis ecclesie*, Cordube, Simon Carpintero, 1561 and *ordinarium missæ*, Sign. Oii. at end of book.	After gradual and before gospel.	P.

Name of Church or Order.	Authority.	Time in Liturgy.	Whether at Solemn or Private Mass.
Palencia.	*Missale Pallantinum*, 1568, fo. cccli.	During gradual.	S.
Hieronymite Friars.	*Missale Romanum secundum consuetudinem fratrum ordinis sancti Hieronymi*, Caesaraug. Georg.Cocus, 1510.	„	P.
Freising.	*Directorium seu Index divinorum officiorum: secundum ritum ecclesie et diocesis Frisingensis*, Venetiis, P. Liechtenstein, 1516. At end of this is *Ordo secundum rubricam frisingen.* Not paged. Directions on verso of fo. 2.	After gradual.	P.
Plasencia (Spain).	*Missale secundum consuetudinem alme ecclesie Placentine*, Venetiis, Spinelli, 1554, fo. xiii.	„	
Carmelite Friars.	*Missale ad usum Carmelitarum*, Lugduni, 1516, Rubrica xli.	„	S.
Dominican Friars.	*Missale predicatorum*, Venetiis, Giunta, 1504. De officio ministrorum altaris.	„	S.
Bordeaux.	*Missale insignis ecclesie Burdigalensis*, 1543. Stephen Tholouze and Lodovic Rostelin.	Between epistle and gospel.	S.
Braga.	Letter from Mr. E. A. Allen, Director of Public Library at Oporto. (Practice continued to end of seventeenth century.)	„	S.
Burgo de Osma.	*Missale mixtum ad usum et consuetudinem sancte ecclesie Oxomensis*, Burgo Osmensi, Didicus a Corduba, 1561, fo. Ordinarium Misse.	„	P. & S

Name of Church or Order.	Authority.	Time in Liturgy.	Whether at Solemn or Private Mass.
Soissons.	*Rituale seu Mandatum insignis ecclesiæ Suessionensis*, ed. Poquet, Suessione, 1856, p. 172. (Written in time of Nivelon de Cherisy, Bishop from 1175 to 1207.)	Between epistle and gospel.	S.
Chalons-sur-Saone.	Ex ordinario MS. insignis ecclesiæ cabilonensis. Edm. Martène, *de antiquis ecclesiæ ritibus*, lib. i. cap. iv. art. xii. ordo xxix.	„	S.
Amiens.	Edm. Martène, *op. cit.* lib. i. cap. iv. art. v. § x.	„	S.
Regensburg.	*Ordo misse secundum morem ecclesie Ratisponensis.* (Early 16th century ? British Museum, 3366, c. 30.)	„	?
Bayeux.	Ex MS. ordinario insignia ecclesiæ Baiocensis. (Ed. Martène, *ibid.* ordo xxiv. Also U. Chevalier, *Ordinaire et Coutumier de l'Eglise cathédrale de Bayeux*, Paris, 1902, p. 28.)	„	S.
„	*Ordo missalis secundum consuetudinem ecclesie Baiocensis*, 1545, Instructiones perutiles, after calendar.	Between *gloria in excelsis* and gospel.	P ?
Sarum.	*Missale ad usum insignis et præclaræ ecclesiæ Sarum*, Burntisland, 1861. Ed. Dickinson. Col. 587.	Between epistle and gospel.	S.
Lincoln.	*Consuetudinarium ecclesie Lincolniensis, temp. R. de Gravesend epi.* (1258–1279). Ed. Chr. Wordsworth, 1885.	„	S.

Name of Church or Order.	Authority.	Time in Liturgy.	Whether at Solemn or Private Mass.
Wells.	*Ordinale et Statuta*, p. 36. (Ed. by H. E. Reynolds, in *Wells Cathedral*, etc. 1881.)	Between epistle and gospel.	S.
Black Canons of Barnwell, Cambridgeshire.	*Libellus de observanciis regularibus canonicorum regularium de Barnwelle*, xxiii. Harleian MS. 3601, fo. 202. ch. xxiii. (edited by J. W. Clark, *Observances in use at the Augustinian Priory . . . Barnwell, Cambridgeshire*, Cambridge, 1897, p. 114).	Between epistle and gospel at high mass : at *missa matutinalis* during collects.	S.
Lyons.	*Missale sub ritu et usu dicte ecclesie lugdunensis*, Lugduni, Io. Alemann de Magontia, 1487, fo. cxxvi.	Before gospel.	S. & P.
„	Do. 1510, fo. lcxiii [lxxiii.]	„	S.
„	Do. 1556, fo. cii.	„	
Siguenza.	*Missale ad usum ecclesie Seguntine*, Seguntie, 1552.	„	S.
Calagorra.	*Missale secundum consuetudinem Calagurritanensis et Calciatensis ecclesiarum*, 1554, fo. cxlvi.	„	S.
Meaux.	*Missale opus ecclesie Meldensis*, Lutetie, Jo. Bonhomme, 1556, fo. clvi. verso.	„	
Monks of Casale.	Edm. Martène, *de antiquis monachorum ritibus*, lib. ii. cap. iv. § ii. art. xxi. and lib. ii. cap. vi. art. xxxvii.	„	S. & P.
Gran.	*Missale secundum chorum alme ecclesie Strigoniensis*, 1501, p. lxxxvi.	„	S. & P.

Name of Church or Order.	Authority.	Time in Liturgy.	Whether at Solemn or Private Mass.
Friars of St. Paul.	*Missale novum: iuxta ritum modumque sacri ordinis fratrum eremitarum Divi Pauli*, Venetiis, Iunta, 1537.	Before gospel.	?
Sens.	*Breviarium secundum verum et integrum preclare ecclesie Senonen usum*, Th. Kerver, Parisiis, 1546, Sign. A. i.	After gospel and before creed.	?
Cambray.	*Missale parvum secundum usum venerabilis ecclesie Cameracensis*, 1507, fo. cxxxj.	After *offertorium*, but before spreading corporal and setting host on altar.	? P
Eichstadt.	*Missale Eystetense*, Eichstadt, 1486, Michael Keyser, fo. clvi. verso.	After creed, but before setting host on altar.	
,,	*Missale secundum chorum et ritum Eystetensis ecclesie*, 1517, Nurnberg, Hieronymus Holtzel, fo. clv.	,,	
Rheims.	*Missale secundum usum . . . ecclesie Remensis*, Paris, 1542, fo. xcvii. verso.	After gospel, but before *offertorium*.	S.
?	*Sacrificale itinerantium subnotata tenens Oppenheim*, in officina Iacobi Koebel, 1521.	,,	P.
Amiens.	Victor de Beauville, and Hector Josse, *Pontifical d'Amiens publié d'après un MS. original du xie siècle*, Amiens, 1885, p. 7.	After gospel.	S.

Name of Church or Order.	Authority.	Time in Liturgy.	Whether at Solemn or Private Mass.
Bremen.	*Missale secundum ritum ecclesie Bremensis*, Strassburg, 1511.	After creed, but before *offertorium*.	?
Seville.	*Missale secundum ordinem alme ecclesie Hispalensis*, Hispali, 1507.	Probably after gospel, but before spreading corporal on altar.	S.
„	*Idem*, Hispali, Varela, 1534, fo. cxl. verso.	„	S.
Praemonstratensian Canons.	*Missale candidissimi ordinis premonstratensium ad unguem recognitum*, Parisiis, 1530, fo. cxv. verso.	Before offering host	
„	*Missale secundum ritum et ordinem sacri ordinis Præmonstratensium*, Paris, J. Keruer, 1578, fo. 136.	„	
Lund.	*Missale Lundense*, Paris, 1514.	After gospel.	?
Toul.	Ex missali Tullensi annorum circiter 300. (Edm. Martène, *de antiquis ecclesiæ ritibus*, lib. i. cap. iv. art. xii. ordo xxxi.)	„	
„	*Missale Tullense*, 1551.	After creed.	?
Monks of the Charterhouse.	*Repertorium Statutorum Ordinis Cartusiensis*, Basileæ, 1510, I. pars stat. ant. cap. xliii. § 22.	During singing of offertory.	S.
„	*Missale secundum ordinem Carthusiensium*, Venetiis, L. A. Giunta, 1509, fo. ciiii.	After gospel, but before offering host.	?

Name of Church or Order.	Authority.	Time in Liturgy.	Whether at Solemn or Private Mass.
Monks of the Charterhouse.	*Missale Carthusiense*, Th. Keruer, 1541, fo. lxxiiii.	After gospel, but before offering host.	?
,,	*Missale secundum ordinem Cartusiensium*, ex officina Carthusiæ papiensis, 1562, fo. 99.	,,	?
S. Gatianus at Tours.	Ex MS. Codice insignis ecclesiæ S. Gatiani Turonensis annorum circiter 800. (Edm. Martène, *de antiquis ecclesiæ ritibus*, lib. i. cap. iv. art. xii. ordo vii.)	After gospel, but before offertory.	S.
Monks of Moysac.	Ex MS. lib. Sacramentorum Moysacensis monasterii. (Edm. Martène, *ibid.* ordo viii.)	Before offertory.	S.
Gregorsmünster in Alsatia.	Ex MS. Monasterii Sancti Gregorii in Valle Gregoriana diocesis Basileensis annorum circiter 300. (Edm. Martène, *ibid.* ordo xxxii.)	,,	S.
Jumièges.	Ex MS. missali Gemmeticensi, secundum usum ecclesiæ Ebroicensis, ante anno 300 exarta. (Edm. Martène, *ibid.* ordo xxviii.)	,,	
Monks of Cluny.	[Marquard Hergott.] *Vetus disciplina Monastica*, 1726, p. 220. See also Luc d'Achery, *Spicelegium*, Paris, 1723, t. i. p. 679.	After gospel.	S.
Monks of Hirschau.	*Ibid.* p. 451.	,,	S.
Valence in Gaul.	*Missale ad usum ecclesie Valentinensis*, Valentie per Iohannem Belon, 1504, fo. ci.	After creed.	

Name of Church or Order.	Authority.	Time in Liturgy.	Whether at Solemn or Private Mass.
Narbonne.	*Missale secundum usum sanctæ Narbonensis ecclesie*, Lugduni, Const. Fradin, 1528, fo. cliii.	After creed.	
Arras.	*Missale ad usum ecclesie Atrebatensis*, Jean Dupré, 1491, fo. cxiii.	After offertory.	?
Camaldulese Monks.	*Missale Monasticum secundum ordinem Camaldulensem novissime impressum*, Venetiis, Liechtenstein, 1567, fo. lxvii.	„	
Aquileia.	*Missale Aquileyensis Ecclesie*, Venetiis, Liechtenstein, 1517, fo. 81 verso.	„	
Tarrazona.	*Missale secundum ritum ac consuetudinem insignis ecclesie Tirassonensis*, Cæsaraugust. Georgii Coci, 1529.	„	
Flaccus Illyricus.	*Missa Latina quæ olim ante Romanam, etc.* Argentinæ, Mylius, 1537, p. 53.	„	S.
Salzburg.	Ex MS. Pontificali Salisbergensi. (Edm. Martène, *de antiquis ecclesiæ ritibus*, lib. i. cap. iv. art. xii. ord. xiii.)	„	S.
Stablo.	Ex MS. Stabulensis monasterii. (Edm. Martène, *ibid.* ordo xv.)	„	S.
Lyons.	Ex antiquo Ordinario ecclesiæ Lugdunensis ante annos 400, manu exarato. (Edm. Martène, *ibid.* lib. i. cap. iv. art. xii. ordo xx.)	After offertory.	S.

Name of Church or Order.	Authority.	Time in Liturgy.	Whether at Solemn or Private Mass.
Monks of Monte Cassino.	*Missale Monasticum secundum morem et ritum Casinensis congregationis alias sancte Iustine*, Venetiis, de Giuntis, 1515.	After offertory.	
Regular Canons of the Congregation of St. Saviour, Order of St. Augustine.	*Ordinarium Fratrum Canonicorum Regularium Congregationis S. Salvatoris Ordinis S. Augustini*, Romæ, Ant. Bladium, 1549. Capp. xxxix. and xli.	„	S.
Vienne in Gaul.	Ex MS. ordinario insignis ecclesiæ Viennensis in Gallia. (Ed. Martène, *op. cit.* Lib. i. cap. iv. art. xii. ord. xxx.)	„	
Friars Minor de Observantia.	*Missale secundum morem romane ecclesie per fratres minores de observantia accurate revisum*, Nurmberge, Ioh. Meurl, 1501, fo.	„	S.
Aix-en-Provence.	*Missale secundum usum Metropolitane ecclesie Aquensis*, Lugduni, D. de Harsy, 1527, fo. cli.	„	
Marseilles.	*Missale secundum usum ecclesie cathedralis Massiliensis nunquam ante impressum*, Lugduni, D. de Harsy, 1530, fo. ci.	„	
Arles.	*Missale secundum usum et consuetudinem sancte Arelatensis ecclesie* (? 1530 Lugd. D. de Harsy), fo. xciii. b.	„	

Name of Church or Order.	Authority.	Time in Liturgy.	Whether at Solemn or Private Mass.
Saragossa.	*Missale secundum consuetudinem metropolitane Ecclesie Cesaraugustane*, 1522. Geo. Cocus, 4°. fo. cciii.	After offertory.	
Gerona.	*Missale secundum laudabilem consuetudinem diocesis Gerundensis*, Lugduni, heredes de Septemgrangiis, 1557, 4°. ordo servandus; de offertorio cap. viii.	„	
Spires.	*Missale Spirense*, Spire, Pet. Drach, 1500. Fo. cxxiii. verso.	„	
Cordova.	*Missale Cordubensis ecclesiae*, Cordubae, 1561, fo. clxxiii. *b*.	„	S.
Hereford.	*Missale ad usum percelebris Ecclesiae Herfordensis*, ed. Henderson, 1874, p. 117.	„	S.
Magdeburg.	*Missale . . . Magdeburg*, 1480. British Museum. IC. 10902, fo. 144*b*. MS. note of the early sixteenth century.	„	?
Milan.	*Missale Ambrosianum*, Mediolani, per Antonium Zarottum, 1475.	After *pacem habete*, and before offering host.	

Notes on the Marriage Service in the Book of Common Prayer of 1549

Notes on the Marriage Service in the Book of Common Prayer of 1549

The essential part of marriage is the consent given by the bride and bridegroom in the presence of witnesses.[1] Other ceremonies may be instructive and desirable, but they are not necessary. Such, for example, are the joining of the right hands, the giving of a ring with other tokens of espousage, the blessing of these by the priest; even the blessing of the marriage itself by the priest is not essential.[2] Other customs there are which are old, but not considered by us necessary or even important. Such are the wearing of crowns, the holding of a veil over the bride and bridegroom while a blessing is pronounced, the

[1] Verum matrimonium non fit sine consensu animorum verbis vel aliis signis pertinentibus expresse (*sic*). I. de Burgo, *Pupilla oculi*, partis viii. caput iij. Argent. 1514. fo. cxxv.b. A.

This essential consent being mental, it follows that there is no outward and visible sign in matrimony, as indeed no less an authority than Dr. Ign. von Döllinger confesses. "Marriage became a link in the chain of the Church's means of grace, though no outward sign or vehicle, as of laying on hands, oil, or water, or the like, was ordained for it." (*The First Age of Christianity and the Church*, translated by H. N. Oxenham, London, 1866. Vol. ii. p. 221.)

[2] A deacon, as well as a layman, may be the witness to a marriage which is perfectly valid; but he cannot bless the marriage as a priest can. In fact a deacon can do no more than the civil registrar does, that is, be a witness to the expressed consent of the two parties. It is unfortunate in the interests of history that Dr. J. H. Blunt should have given currency to the reverse of the opinion of Chief Justice Tindal. (*Annotated Book of Common Prayer*, Lond. 1884. p. 450.) Dr. Blunt's notes always need the strictest scrutiny before they be accepted. (See *Guardian*, Jan. 11th, 1893. p. 60.)

giving to the bride and bridegroom of sops and a cup of wine hallowed by the priest, the nuptial kiss, and other practices.

All these ceremonies differed widely in different dioceses; and the Council of Trent, which one might have thought little favourable to the preservation of diocesan varieties, "earnestly hopes"[1] that they may be retained. Yet in the first reformed book of the English Church some of the old English ceremonies were abolished; others changed; and others, new to England, introduced.

Let us pass rapidly over some of the non-essential ceremonies connected with marriage. And first the betrothal; in foreign liturgical books the betrothal took place some days before marriage, and consisted in a mutual promise to marry within a short time; then the priest dismissed the man and woman; and during the time between the betrothal and the marriage, usually forty days, the banns were published.[2] For this ceremony before marriage there appears no service in the English books printed by Dr. Henderson; nor is there any trace of it in the book of 1549. We know of course that betrothal did take place in England, as the rubrics of the Sarum manual speak of it, and it is mentioned elsewhere.[3]

Wheatly, however, considers the question put to the bride and bridegroom at the beginning of the service as

[1] "Vehementer optat." (*Canones et Decreta SS. Œcum. Concilii Tridentini*, xxiv. cap. i. Ratisbonæ, 1874. p. 139.)

[2] Instances of this betrothal will be found in Martène, *De antiquis Ecclesiæ ritibus*, lib. I. cap. ix. art. v. ordines ix. xi. xii. xiii. xiv. Bassani, 1788. t. ii. pp. 134, etc., and of a later date in the Rouen *Sacerdotale* of 1640 and others (see below).

[3] Wilkins, *Concilia*, Lond. 1737, vol. ii. p. 135. Synod of Exeter 1287. Cap. vii. de matrimonio. B. Thorpe, *Ancient Laws . . . England*, Public Records Commission, 1840. p. 108. Laws of King Edmund of betrothing a woman. It is most likely betrothal that Shakespeare describes in *Twelfth Night*, Act V. Sc. I. line 150.

> A contract of eternal bond of love,
> Confirm'd by mutual joinder of your hands,
> Attested by the holy close of lips
> Strengthen'd by interchangement of your rings
> And all the ceremony of this compact
> Seal'd in my function, by my testimony.

" remains of the old form of Espousals, which was different and distinct from the office of Marriage and which was often performed some weeks or months, or perhaps years before."[1] And Wheatly's authority has caused other writers to express the same opinion. But the questions put in the book of 1549 exactly correspond to questions in the same place in rites which have a distinct service for the betrothal or espousals. It is so at Amiens in Ordo IX. printed by Martène, at Autun, in 1544, at Rouen in 1640, at Cambray in 1562, at Bourdeaux in 1728, Triers in 1574, Bamberg in 1587, and Augsburg in 1764,[2] and many others. In fact at the espousals there is merely a promise to marry at some future time (*verba de futuro*). At the celebration of matrimony it is the marriage itself (*verba de presenti*). This is evident from the old English books; whether in the vernacular or in the Latin, the question is in the present tense, not in the future: *vis habere* and *wilt thou?* which is: *art thou now willing;* not *wilt thou be ready hereafter.*

And here one may just note another assertion of Wheatly: that the woman is told to stand during the marriage on the left hand of the man " by the Latin and Greek and all Christian Churches," and that the Jews are the only persons who act otherwise.[3] As a matter of fact even the English dioceses varied among themselves in this point, and there is no settled rule in the West. In the Orthodox Greek Church,[4] if the comment of Goar be correct, they would seem to have really done as Wheatly says; the man being on the right, the woman on the left

[1] Charles Wheatly, *A rational illustration of the Book of Common Prayer*, chap. x. sect. 4 § 5. Cambridge, 1858, ed. Corrie, p. 494.

[2] In order to avoid constant repetition of the same references, the authorities for the local customs are brought together under one heading, at the end of the paper, where it is hoped the reader may readily find the reference to the book of the church or monastery spoken of in the text. (See below, p. 221.)

[3] Wheatly, *op. cit.* chap. x. sect. ii. § 4.

[4] Jac. Goar, *Euchologion*, Lut. Paris. 1647. pp. 380 and 384, note 5. See also Simeon of Thessalonica, *Opera omnia*, De matrimonio, cap. cclxxviii. Migne, col. 507.

of a spectator entering the church. But the Copts put the bride on the right hand of the man, which is the reverse.[1]

Wheatly's statement is true of the Sarum printed books, of York, Exeter, and No. IX. of Dr. Henderson's collection; but the woman stands during marriage on the right of the man in the manuscript Sarum *Manuale*,[2] at Hereford, and in No. X. (St. Asaph) of Dr. Henderson's collection. Further, during the nuptial mass the position of the man was reversed at Sarum, York, and Exeter, the bridegroom kneeling on the left of the bride. Care must therefore be taken to notice what part of the service the rubric is dealing with.

Nor is Wheatly more fortunate with the customs of the Church of Rome. From the early printed *Sacerdotalia* of this church, it would appear that a custom exactly opposite to that which he affirms to be universal prevailed at Rome during the sixteenth century. The woodcuts in the marriage service show the bridegroom standing on the left of the bride; and the *Rituale Romanum* of Gregory XIII. directs this position. The early Italian pictures of marriage show this. Several instances are collected together in a note to p. 210 below.

While the spousal mass is being said the *Sacerdotalia* direct a change to be made in position, as the Sarum and York books do, and the bridegroom kneels on the right of the bride. In the Pian Missal and the Pauline *Rituale* there are no directions of any kind upon these points.

As instances of the variations the following may be taken: At Lyre the woman knelt at the mass on the right of the man. At Limoges during the marriage, and at Arles during the nuptial mass, which contained the marriage service, she stood at the left of the man. At Verona in 1609 she stood during the marriage on the left of the man, and the woodcuts corroborate the directions. At

[1] H. Denzinger, *Ritus Orientialium*, Wirceburgi, 1863. t. ii. p. 365.

[2] See p. xviii. of the preface to Dr. Henderson's Edition of the York Manual.

Avranches in 1769, the same. In the churches of Poland in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the priest put the bridegroom on his own right and the bride on his own left for the marriage. At Salamanca in 1532, the bride heard the spousal mass kneeling at the left of the bridegroom. The French print reproduced on Plate XVII. shows the bridegroom kneeling on the left of the bride.

But in some books, though a direction is given, yet its meaning cannot be known with certainty at the present day. For example, at Rouen in 1640, the man during the betrothal is directed to stand on the left of the priest; but during the nuptial mass he is to kneel towards the piscina, which in England is always on the south side, but its place at Rouen I do not know. So, too, at Bourdeaux in 1728 it is said that the man is to be on the right, and the woman on the left, during the marriage; and this is the direction given in many of the ritual books: but whether the right of the priest is meant, or the right of one looking at the altar, is not said. At Augsburg in 1764 appears the same indefinite direction, with a sort of complaint that in some churches the opposite is followed.[1]

The prayer for the blessing of the ring, found in all the old English books, has disappeared entirely from the book of 1549.[2] But, as before, the ring is put upon the book with gold and silver, called tokens of spousage.[3] It

[1] *Stante viro ad dexteram, muliere vero ad sinistram* (contra quam in nonnullis Ecclesiis sinistrissime fœminas ad dexteram ponunt). *Rituale Augustanum*, Aug. Vindel. 1764. p. 255.

[2] It may be noticed that according to Goar (*op. cit.* p. 384, note 3) there is no prayer for the blessing of the ring among the Greeks. It is sufficient that it has been laid upon the Holy Table. Several of the early German *Agenda* also contain no prayer for the blessing of the ring, as the ring in Germany was not a constant gift at marriage. The Rev. Dr. Achille Ratti, one of the Doctors of the Ambrosian Library at Milan, has been kind enough to make for me a special search amongst the manuscript and printed copies of the *Ritualia Sacramentorum* of the Church of Milan, and he finds no blessing of the ring in the marriage service before the time of St. Charles.

[3] These words were left out in the second book. Bishop Cosin proposed to restore them in this fashion: "a ring and other tokens of spouseage, as gold, silver, or bracelets." (*Correspondence of John Cosin, D.D.*, Surtees

is right that the ring should be associated with the gold and silver; for it, like the coins, is a gift from the bridegroom to the bride. It is only one of the *arrhæ*, which may be any jewel or precious ornament, as the Roman *Rituale* of Gregory XIII. edited by Cardinal Severina in 1584, testifies.[1] They are really the gifts with which the wife is purchased (*coemptio*). If this view be right there would seem no impropriety in giving more than one ring; and accordingly we find in some foreign books a formula for the blessing of rings, in the plural, intended to be given to the bride. At Rouen, as printed by Martène, the rubric expressly says: Let the ring remain on the third finger of the bride with any others that the man may please to give her: and rings in the plural are spoken of in the *Rituale* of Gregory XIII. J. B. Thiers, however, speaks of this practice with the greatest severity, considering that it favours the institution of polygamy,[2] and it was forbidden at Paris in 1786. In some rites the jewels or coins are held by the bride in her hand while the ring is put upon her finger. (Limoges, Bourdeaux, 1728. Paris, 1786. Rhemes, 1821.) It is no uncommon thing in some of the German *Agenda* to find that a ring is not held necessary and is spoken of as a local custom. There is no delivery of a ring ordered in the book printed by the Jesuits at Nangasaki for the use of the Japanese in the early seventeenth century.

Society, 1872, part II. p. 74). The Bishop elsewhere tells us that "it is a general custom still to observe this order [the practice of giving gifts of gold and silver] in the north part of the kingdom." (*The Works of . . . John Cosin*, Oxford, 1855, Lib. of Anglo-Catholic Theology, vol. v. p. 493). But Hooker speaks of it as "already worn out" in his time. (*Of the Lawes of Ecclesiastical Politie*, Book V. § 73, Lond. 1632. p. 398.)

[1] In this *Rituale* as soon as the sign of the cross has been made upon the new-married couple and they have been sprinkled with holy water comes: "De benedictione arrharum. Si sit consuetudo in sponsalibus . . . benedicendi arrhas ut armillas, monilia, zonas, fascias pectorales, inaures, gemmas, margaritas, aut alias res, facit ibi deferri eas ab uno ex Acoluthis vel Clericis in aliquo vase vel linteolo, et alter Acoluthus vel Clericus aderit. uno vasculo et aspersorio aquæ benedictæ, ut supra," etc.

[2] J. B. Thiers, *Traité des Superstitions qui regardent les Sacremens*, Livre X. chap. iv. § ix. 4th ed. Avignon, 1777. t. iv. p. 455.

At Triers we note that coins or *arrhæ* are delivered to the spouse in the place of the ring. It would seem that the *arrhæ* generally include ring and gifts; just as in the Prayer Book the expression "oblations" includes both the sacramental bread and wine and any other gifts that may be made at the same time.[1] One of the gifts among the Jacobite Syrians is a golden cross; so also amongst the Copts, where clothes are given as well, especially a girdle, which with them is a token that the wearer is a Christian.[2]

Two rings, of gold and silver, one for the bride and the other for the bridegroom, are in use amongst the Orthodox Greeks, according to Goar[3]; and in some Latin dioceses in the eastern parts of Europe at the present moment (Gran, Colocza) two rings for the same purpose are blessed. At Bourdeaux in 1596,[4] Toledo in 1673, and Salamanca in 1532, Aquileia in 1575, there was the same custom.

At Freising the priest wears a violet stole for the blessing of the rings. At Bologna the curate was vested in a cope.

Pliny tells us that in his days the ring given to the woman was of iron,[5] but Tertullian[6] and Clement of Alexandria[7] speak of it as golden. Simeon of Thessalonica, who died in 1429, speaks of the iron ring being

[1] See the Bishop of Salisbury's (Dr. John Wordsworth) *The Holy Communion*, sec. ed. Oxford and London, 1892. p. 263.

[2] H. Denzinger, *Ritus Orientalium*, Wirceburgi, 1863. t. i. p. 174: t. ii. pp. 364 and 385.

[3] Jacobi Goar, *Euchologion*, Lutetiæ Parisiorum, 1647. p. 380. See also G. V. Shann, *Book of Needs*, London, 1894. p. 52. Mr. W. J. Birkbeck tells me that in Russia they nearly always have the name of the betrothed engraved inside.

[4] J. B. Thiers, *op. cit.* § viii. p. 454.

[5] C. Plinii Secundi, *Nat. His.* lib. xxxiii. cap. 4. Lond. 1826. t. viii. p. 4306. "Etiam nunc sponsæ muneri ferreus annulus mittitur, isque sine gemma."

[6] Tertullian, *Apologeticus*, cap. 6 (*Opera*, Migne, I. col. 302), "cum aurum nulla norat præter unico digito quem sponsus oppignerasset pronubo annulo." The difference between Pliny and Tertullian has been explained by supposing that one is speaking of the betrothal ring, the other of the marriage ring.

[7] Clemens Alex. *Paedagog.* lib. iii. cap. xi. Migne t. 1, coll. 631–634.

given to the woman and a golden ring to the man.[1] In the middle ages in the West the marriage ring had become one of the precious metals.[2] It is directed to be silver in the mediæval orders of Lyons, Paris,[3] Auxerre, and Rouen, printed by Martène ; also in No. IX. of the English orders printed by Dr. Henderson, where it is further directed to be without gold or any sort of precious stone.[4] In the St. Asaph order (No. X. of Dr. Henderson) it is said to be of gold. "Wyth this gold ryng y ye wedde."

At first the coins given to the bride were of current money ; later on they became small medals struck for the purpose. Mr. H. A. Grueber, F.S.A., secretary of the Numismatic Society, tells me that in Lima these

FRENCH MARRIAGE JETON

small medals are still struck for many weddings and thrown to the persons who attend the marriage. Traces of the custom are even now to be seen in the bronze and silver medals which are distributed at Royal marriages.

In France there seems to have been a variety of these coins in common use. Mr. Grueber has had the goodness to show me one of them in the British Museum,

[1] Simeon, *loc. cit.*

[2] Postmodum vero pro ferreis sunt aurei constituti et pro adamante gemmis ornati. (Durandus, *Rationale*, lib. I. cap. 9, § 10, Venetiis, 1568.) Early in the fourteenth century Dante speaks of a gem in the marriage ring. "Disposata m'avea con la sua gemma." (*Purgatorio*, Canto v. last line.)

[3] It was to be of silver at Paris as late as 1786, without precious stone, engraving, or letters.

[4] Brit. Mus. Harl. 2860, fo. 31. The words are distinctly : *Sine auro et sine lapide aliquo.*

among the French *jetons* in silver, of which the accompanying cut is a representation. Mr. Grueber attributes it to the later half of the seventeenth century. Martène gives a drawing of one which bears the legend *Denier tournois pour épouser ;* and several others are reproduced by De Fontenay. It was the custom for the bridegroom to give to the bride thirteen of these little pieces, either in a purse, as at Bourdeaux in 1728, or in a box of silver or enamel.[1] In France thirteen was the common number. It was so at Autun in 1545, at St. Omer in 1606, at Bourdeaux in 1728 ; and in the ancient orders at Limoges and Amiens printed by Martène. Thirteen, Martène says, was also the number at Rhemes in 1585, of which ten were reserved for the priest. At Amiens three were reserved, with the rest the priest did what he pleased. At Bourdeaux in 1728 the priest kept one piece, the others were given to the bride. At the monastery of Lyre the coins were to be divided amongst the poor. At Salamanca in 1532 thirteen *denarii* and one *obolus* were to be given to the bride. In England we find that the coins were sometimes given away. In No. IX. of Dr. Henderson's collection the money is given to the clerks or poor according to the custom of the country ; and in No. VII., after the money has been given to the bride, they do what they like with it. There would thus seem to be mediæval authority for the rubric in the second book of Edward VI. that the ring shall be laid upon the book "with the accustomed duty to the priest and clerke."

After the delivery of the ring, the printed edition of the York Manual, and a manuscript of the Sarum Manual direct the bride to fall at her husband's feet ; and the Sarum book further orders that she shall kiss his right foot.[2] The York book directs this courtesying to take

[1] De Fontenay, *Manuel de l'Amateur de jetons*, Paris, 1854. p. 103. At Bourdeaux the French rubric speaks of the *Benediction des erres ou trezain*, a meaning of *treizain* not noticed by Littré.

[2] I have looked through all the printed editions of the Sarum Manual in the British Museum but do not find this direction in them.

place only when the bride has received land as her dower. This ceremony was known elsewhere ; for in *Ordo IV.* of Martène the bride falls at her husband's feet at the same time in the service as in the Sarum and York books. Giles Fletcher, who was ambassador from our Queen Elizabeth to Russia at the end of the sixteenth century, says : " So the marriage knot being knitte by the Priest, the Bride commeth to the Bridegroome (standing at the end of the altar or table) and falleth downe at his feete, knocking her head upon his shooe, in token of her subjection and obedience. And the Bridegroom again casteth the cappe of his gowne or upper garment over the Bride, in token of his duetie to protect and cherish her." [1]

Bodenstedt says that among the Armenians the bride kneels at the feet of the bridegroom when she meets her future husband on the day of the marriage.[2]

The falling at the feet of the husband does not appear in the book of 1549. If Cranmer had but the printed Sarum *Manualia* and *Missalia* before him, this circumstance might account for the discontinuance of the practice ; for though all are well aware of his Lutheran and even Zwinglian opinions, yet it does not appear that he was inclined to follow the innovators in their slack teaching on the subject of matrimony. The modern upholders of the rights of women would never endure this ceremony for one moment : and I fancy that pride, not superstition, has a great deal to do with a practice which J. B. Thiers denounces : the bride was accustomed to let the ring fall from her finger as soon as it was put on.[3] Necessarily she would stoop to pick up the ring, or make some attempt at this, and so a reason would be given for her bending or courtesying at her husband's feet, and the appearance of worship paid to him would be got rid of.

[1] G. Fletcher, *Of the Russe Common Wealth*, Lond., Thomas Charde, 1591. chap. 24, fo. 101.

[2] F. M. Bodenstedt, *Ein Tausend und ein Tag*, Berlin, 1850, quoted by Denzinger, *op. cit.* t. ii. p. 471.

[3] J. B. Thiers, *op. cit.* § xi. p. 457.

It is to be feared that St. Augustine is inclined as little as St. Paul to favour modern ideas : for he says that one of the characters of a good *materfamilias* is that she is not ashamed to call herself the servant (*ancilla*) of her husband.[1]

In the Ely Pontifical (No. V. of Dr. Henderson's collection) both bride and bridegroom are directed to kneel at the priest's feet immediately after the giving of the ring, as the rubric in the book of Common Prayer since 1662 has commanded.

The joining of the right hands in marriage is very ancient and widespread amongst Christians and heathen. Tertullian, one of the early fathers, speaks of the joining of hands as practised at marriages.[2] In some English books (York, Sarum, Hereford, Exeter) the joining of the right hands took place while the man and woman plighted their troth, as in the book of 1549 : but at Westminster and in No. IX. of Dr. Henderson's collection the priest joined both hands at the very opening of the service, while at Evesham there is no mention of such ceremony in the original text, though added in the later hand. In none of the older English books, however, is the ceremony so striking as in the book of 1549, accompanied as it is by impressive words of which there will be more to say hereafter.

The early Roman *Sacerdotalia* direct the priest to join the right hands together directly the man and woman have given their consent, saying : *ego vos coniungo in matrimonium*, and he wraps the hands in the stole folded in the form of a cross. Much the same directions are given in the *Rituale* of Gregory XIII., but in the Roman book of 1606 the stole is no longer ordered to be put over the right hands of the new married couple, and the same

[1] S. Augustini episcopi *Sermo* xxxvii. cap. vi. (*Opera*, Migne, t. v. col. 225.) "Agnoscat, inquam, se ancillam, nec timeat conditionem."

[2] Tertullian, *de virginibus velandis*, cap. xi. Migne, *Opera omnia*, t. ii. col. 904.

omission is also made in the *Rituale* of Paul V. In a large number of the foreign diocesan books, however, the covering of the joined hands with the ends of the stole is still ordered, notwithstanding the omission of the ceremony in the *Rituale* of Paul V. There seems no evidence that it was ever done in England.

At Prague in 1848 instead of the ends of the stole, there was an alternative custom of putting a "rose" upon the hands of the new married couple. "Ubi consuetudo est quod rosa ponatur super junctas manus sponsorum sacerdos dicit: Matrimonium etc." From enquiries made by the late Count Léon de Mniczech of the Countess von Blome, it would seem that this custom is now entirely unknown in Bohemia, so that at this moment it cannot be ascertained what the "rose" was. Nor in a visit which I paid to Prague in the year 1898 could I find any ecclesiastic who could tell me anything of the custom.

The joining of hands and covering with the stole remain in the manual printed by the Jesuits for use in Japan, although there is no indication of the use of a ring. Mr. W. J. Birkbeck tells me that the Russians consider the sacrament to be accomplished when the priest joins the hands of the bride and bridegroom, not when they give their consent to one another. The joining of hands takes place some time after the mutual consent has been given.[1]

A very ancient practice was the holding of a veil, called in English the care-cloth, over the new married couple; but it has disappeared in the book of 1549. In the English pre-Reformation books it is to be found in those of Sarum, York, Hereford, Exeter, Westminster, Evesham, and the Welsh order No. X., supposed by Dr. Henderson to be of St. Asaph; with the exception of the York and Exeter books, the care-cloth was apparently to be held over the heads of the new married couple from *Sanctus*

[1] Goar, *op. cit.* p. 394, note i.

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MARRIAGE WITH VEIL.

in the spousal mass to *Pax* just before Communion.[1]

This veil or canopy is held over them by clerks in surplices; four, according to Sarum and Exeter; two according to York; while at Hereford four clerks held the veil over their backs. At Lyre the veil was held by four persons; at Lyons, and Soissons in modern times by two persons only, as in the accompanying copy of the print lent by Mr. J. N. Comper (Plate XVII.).

In the Roman *Sacerdotalia*, the veil is put over the head of the bride, but only over the shoulders of the bridegroom, apparently to avoid covering his head while in church. It was the same at Arles. At Rouen in 1640 there is a curious direction to cover the children with the veil (if any have been born before matrimony) at the same time as their parents, so as to ensure that the offspring be made legitimate by the ceremony.[2] By the Canon Law, as at the present day in Scotland, though not in England, marriage later on makes legitimate the children born before marriage.

This nuptial veil seems to be of very great antiquity, part of the heathen customs of the Roman commonwealth. The bride was there veiled with a *flammeum*, so called on account of its red or flame-like colour; later on this veil began to be put over the bridegroom as well as the bride, as in the printed Roman *Sacerdotalia* show; and in England and elsewhere merely held by the clerks over the heads of the new married couple. The veil is spoken of not only in the early printed Roman *Sacerdotalia*, but also in the *Rituale Romanum* of 1584. This book was published after the Roman Missal of Pius V. in 1570. Now this missal contains no note of the use of the nuptial

[1] I cannot help thinking that the Exeter direction is the more reasonable: Post Sanctus prosternant se sponsus et sponsa ad gradum altaris: in oracione dominica [dominica *is omitted in* Sarum *and others*] extenso pallio super eos, etc. In some churches, as Auxerre, Arles, and Triers, it is said that the new married are not to be covered with the veil until the blessing is ready to be given.

[2] From Littré (*Dictionnaire*, s. v. poêle) this would seem to have been a recognised custom throughout France.

veil, nor do I find it spoken of in any later edition. There is also no mention of the veil in the Roman *Ordo Baptizandi*, etc., of 1606, nor in the *Rituale* of Paul V., from which we may infer that the practice had been given up as an ordinary custom at Rome, just as it was given up in England in 1549. Indeed so forgotten was the custom in Italy that when in 1789, at the marriage of a prince of the house of Savoy, the practice was restored, it was denounced as an innovation, and a pamphlet had to be written in proof of its antiquity.[1] It continued, however, in France into the last century. Mr. J. N. Comper has allowed me to reproduce a French print made apparently immediately after the Restoration, in which two children standing on stools hold the veil over the heads of the new married couple. Not many years ago at a marriage in London a blue silk veil was held over the heads of the bride and bridegroom by four clergymen in surplices during the benediction by the celebrant.

There may be a relic of this veil at Bologna in 1593. The curate is to put upon the neck of the bride and bridegroom a white veil made like a fillet after the fashion of a stole, and he is then to join them together in matrimony.[2] At Arles the priest was to put a veil over the shoulders (*scapulas*) of the bridegroom and the head of the bride, and then a *jugalis*[3] over the shoulders (*humeros*) of both. So, too, at Salamanca in 1532 the minister at the spousal mass covered the new married couple with a linen cloth, covering the man's shoulders and the woman's head, as in the Roman *Sacerdotale* spoken of above; and over the linen there was put around them a hallowed girdle (*cingulo benedicto*) and the minister of the mass said

[1] Matthaei Gianolio, *De antiquo ecclesiæ ritu expandendi velum super sponsos in benedictione nuptiarum*, Vercellis, 1789. Ex Patrio typographeo.

[2] "Il Curato . . . ponga al collo de sposi la benda bianca di velo à guisa di stola, e li congiunga in matrimonio," p. 83. The practice is spoken of by Selden, *Uxor Ebraica*, cap. xxvi.

[3] I do not know what a *jugalis* is, whether different from the care-cloth or the same as that already put on the new married couple. This is the only instance that Ducange cites.

to them : Iugum enim meum suave est : et onus meum leve. There is perhaps a play upon the word *jugalis*.

What the hallowed girdle was I do not know. There may be an allusion to it in St. Isidore of Seville, who speaks of the new married persons being bound by the deacon [1] after the blessing with a fillet purple and white in colour. The crowns amongst the Greeks, considered by them so important a part of the marriage ceremonies, are, according to Goar and Smith, made of olive branches "stitched over with white silk and interwoven with purple," [2] the two colours of the fillet described by St. Isidore.

The Armenian bride wears a veil, of red colour, which covers her from head to foot, says a writer at the end of the last century.[3] And the red colour would seem to show its descent from, or affinity with, the Roman *flammeum*. The purple of the Christian veil mentioned by St. Isidore had most likely its source in the red of the pagan *flammeum*. At Toledo in 1554 the veil was either purple or white.

In modern times the veil seems to have been wholly white. It was so at Paris in 1786, at Lyons, Soissons, and Lisieux. In the *Rituale Romanum* of Gregory XIII. where the veil is mentioned for the last time in a Roman *Rituale*, it is to be of silk or linen. This was also the material of the care-cloth in English inventories.[4]

In England according to Polydore Vergil the bride wore a garland of wheat on her head or carried it in her hand, as she returned home ; and wheat was thrown upon her

[1] "Nubentes post benedictionem a Levita invicem uno vinculo copulantur" (B. Isidori . . . *de officiis*, lib. ii. cap. xix. Venetiis, 1558, fo. 38 b), but Hittorp's ed. (Paris, 1610) reads benedictionem vitæ (? vittæ) uno invicem vinculo. It may thus mean either that the fillet is blessed, or that the minister binds the two persons together.

[2] Goar, *Euchologion*, Paris, 1647. p. 397. Thomas Smith, *Account of the Greek Church*, London, 1680. p. 189.

[3] Giovanni de Serpos, *Compendio storico . . . della nazione Armena*, Venezia, 1786. t. iii. p. 166.

[4] See Dr. Murray's *New English Dictionary*, s.v. care-cloth.

head also on entering the house as an omen of fruitfulness.[1] In Chaucer's *Clerk of Oxenforde's Tale* they dress a crown on patient Grissel's head when she is to be married; but it should be noted that she is to marry a marquis.[2] In Russia also Giles Fletcher tells us they fling corn out of the windows on the new married pair in token of plenty.[3]

The Sarum, Hereford, Exeter, Westminster, and Evesham books direct that at the end of mass the priest should bless bread and wine, or some other drink, in a suitable vessel, and give them to the bride and bridegroom. Probably the bread was put into the liquor and made a sop of. This was no longer ordered in 1549, but it appears to have continued as an ancient custom. Shakespeare, no doubt describing an Elizabethan marriage in *The Taming of the Shrew*,[4] speaks of the drink brought at the end of the ceremony and of the sops in it. The drink was muscadel, upon which Howard Staunton comments that the custom of taking wine and sops was almost universal, and "the beverage usually chosen was *Muscadel*, or *Muscadine*, or a medicated drink called

[1] Polydore Vergil, *loc. cit.*

[2] Line 185. Richard Morris ed. vol. ii. p. 290.

[3] G. Fletcher, *op. cit.* fo. 102.

[4]
When the priest
Should ask, if Katherine should be his wife,
"Ay, by gogs-wouns," quoth he; and swore so loud,
That, all amazed, the priest let fall the book;
And, as he stoop'd again to take it up,
This mad-brain'd bridegroom took him such a cuff,
That down fell priest and book, and book and priest;
"Now take them up," quoth he, "if any list."
Tranio. What said the wench when he rose again?
Gremio. Trembled and shook; for why he stamp'd and swore,
As if the vicar meant to cozen him.
But after many ceremonies done,
He calls for wine: "a health!" quoth he; as it
He had been aboard, carousing to his mates
After a storm: quaff'd off the muscadel,
And threw the sops all in the sexton's face.

Taming of the Shrew, III. ii. 155.

Hippocras."[1] This we have seen is in accordance with the Sarum rubric which speaks of "Vinum vel aliud quid potabile in vasculo."

Of this vessel we have an account given to us by Polydore Vergil, who lived in England at the end of the fifteenth century, and described some of our marriage customs. He says that on their return home from church, there is borne before the new married couple, instead of a torch,[2] a vessel of gold or silver.[3] Such a vessel there would seem to be still at Kidderminster, though called by some a chalice or communion cup. This cup was given to the town of Kidderminster in Elizabethan times to be carried before the bride and bridegroom. It is therefore, most likely, such a vessel as Polydore Vergil says was carried in England a hundred years before; and there can be no profanity in using it as a loving cup, for which indeed it was at first intended. It seems to be no sort of chalice or communion cup. Brand speaks of "two Masers that were appointed to remayne in the Church for to drynk yn at Brideales," being in an inventory of the church at Wilsdon in 1547, and of "a fair Bride Cup of silver gilt, carried before her," i.e. the bride, at Newbury.[4]

The early printed Roman *Sacerdotalia*, with a host of foreign books, direct the same blessing of the bread and wine that is to be given to the new married couple. At some churches only wine is given, as at Amiens; and in

[1] Howard Staunton, *The Plays of Shakespeare*, Lond. 1858. vol. i. p. 276. John Brand (*Observations on Popular Antiquities*, London, 1813. vol. ii. p. 63), notes from Leland's *Collectanea* that "wyne and sopes were hallowed and delyvered" to Philip and Mary at their marriage at Winchester; and he refers to Robert Armin's *History of the Two Maids of Moreclacke*, 1609, for the use of muscadine. Nearly all the learning on this subject that has appeared since 1813, is to be found in Brand's book.

[2] And with hir fuyrbrond in hir hond aboute
Daunceth bifore the bryde and al the route.
Chaucer, *The Marchaunde's Tale*, 483–4.

[3] Polydori Vergili *de rerum inventoribus*, lib. i. cap. iv. Basileæ, 1570. p. 24.

[4] Brand, *op. cit.* pp. 45 and 64.

some German books the wine is called *Amor S. Johannis* in some connexion with the legend of the casting out of the serpent from the cup by St. John Evangelist. (Augsburg, 1499. Salzburg, Würzburg, and many others.)

At Paris in Cardinal Bourbon's time, according to Martène, the blessing of the bread and wine took place at the door of the house before the new married entered. At Limoges, at the end of mass, the priest broke a hallowed host (*hostiam benedictam*) and gave to each of the new married couple his or her part in token of marital love. This "host" was in all likelihood an obley or singing bread, not consecrated in the canon of the mass; but the expression raises a question about which there has been some debate. The same may be said of a rubric at Triers in 1574, which directs the priest to break the bread on the altar and give one part to the bridegroom and the other to the bride, with wine. Does this mean that the blessed bread and wine are substitutes for communion, or are they the relics of a love-feast after communion? That the new married people were to receive communion at the time of their marriage seems shown by the fact that the earliest marriage services in the Roman sacramentaries are nuptial masses.[1] In the pontifical of Arles printed by Martène the marriage itself takes place after the Canon of the Mass, before the *Pax*. At Soissons in 1753 it is after the offertory. In the book of 1549, it was therefore only a return to primitive custom to order that "the new married persons (the same day of their marriage) must receive the holy communion." At the same time it would seem that in these days it would be impossible to enforce the rubric. Still, even if it be a counsel of perfection, it should be kept before the eyes of Christians. In the *Rituale Romanum* of Gregory XIII. printed in 1584 it seems to be taken for granted that the new married communicate in the

[1] In the Gelasian Sacramentary there is "Pax vobiscum. *Et sic eos communicas.*" (H. A. Wilson, *The Gelasian Sacramentary*, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1894. p. 267.)

nuptial mass, directly after the priest; and in the later editions of the modern Roman mass book (not in the earlier Pian) a suggestion is made of the same thing, that the new married shall communicate in the nuptial mass immediately after the priest; and when the marriage is to be blessed by a prelate the pontifical assumes that they shall do so.[1] The Ambrosian *Rituale* directs that communion shall be offered (*praebetur*) to them. According to Goar, mass is said before the marriage among the Greeks and it might be thought that the bride and bridegroom would naturally be communicated in this mass[2]; though this seems inconsistent with what is said later on that communion with the presanctified species is given after the crowning, and before the cup of wine hallowed by the priest is given to them to drink. Ordinarily in Russia, Mr. W. J. Birkbeck tells me, marriages take place before vespers, that is three o'clock in winter and four o'clock in summer. But amongst the rich, evening weddings are very common. The stricter people still marry immediately after mass; and the Eastern ritualists acknowledge that it was the earlier custom to marry before mass, in order that the new married might communicate.[3]

The accompanying of the bridal party to church with instruments of music, etc., seems to have been as great a nuisance in England as in France. The Puritans complain of the bagpipes and fiddlers who disturb the congregation,[4] and J. B. Thiers quotes numerous *Ritualia*

[1] J. Catalani, *Additamenta ad Pontificale Romanum*, tit. iv. de benedictione nuptiarum, in *Pontificale Romanum*, Parisiis, 1852. t. iii. p. 471. It should also be noted that the bride and bridegroom are themselves to say *Amen* after the words said in giving them communion. This is the only instance in the Roman rite that I know of at the present day where the communicant is told to answer *Amen*; as he does still at Milan, and used to do at Paris and elsewhere. In the Church of Scotland it is still ordered.

[2] Iac. Goar, *Euchologion*, Lut. Par. 1647. pp. 380, 392, 394, note c.

[3] There is no recommendation of communion at the time of marriage in the American Book of Common Prayer, either in the earlier edition, or in the revised edition of 1892.

[4] John Whitgift, *Works*, vol. iii. p. 353, Parker Soc., quoted in Philip Stubbes' *Anatomie of the Abuses in England*, New Shakespeare Society, 1877–9, p. 309.

and decrees of Synods forbidding music within the church at the time of marriage, even so much as to sing *Credo* and *O Salutaris Hostia* at the mass.[1] The *Charivari* used at second marriages, as a sort of insult, is quite a different thing from orderly music, and it is repeatedly forbidden by councils and ritual books both in the middle ages and in more modern times.

Having thus glanced at some of the middle age ceremonies of marriage, there are three changes in the marriage service of 1549 to which I should like to draw more particular attention. First, the address at the beginning of the service. Secondly, the direction to put the ring on the left hand. Thirdly, the addition of the words: "Those whom God hath joined, etc."

I. Some years ago when I was working at the history of the relations of the breviary of Cardinal Quignon to the Book of Common Prayer, I asked Dr. Ince, the Canon of Christ Church at Oxford, who as Regius Professor of Divinity is the keeper of the Allestree Library, to examine for me the copy of the Book of Common Prayer, preserved in that library, which is enriched with a number of manuscript notes by Dr. Lloyd, Bishop of Oxford, once upon a time Dr. Ince's predecessor in the Divinity Chair. I cannot mention Dr. Lloyd's name without expressing some of the gratitude which I feel for his great services to the study of liturgy in this country. To Dr. Lloyd may be traced the first beginnings of the revival of these studies which marked the last sixty years of the nineteenth century. When a young man Dr. Lloyd served a parish in the north of London in which lived a number of French clergymen, driven from their homes by the French Revolution. The *émigrés* were noticed by him to assemble at stated times for the recitation of the breviary. He was led to inquire into the book; and he found that its structure reminded him of the Mattins

[1] J. B. Thiers, *op. cit.* ¶ xv. p. 462.

and Evensong of the Book of Common Prayer.[1] Later on Dr. Lloyd became Regius Professor of Divinity in the University of Oxford; and to illustrate his lectures on the Prayer Book breviaries were brought down from the library and shown to his class.[2] Amongst his hearers were several of the writers of *Tracts for the Times;* and Dr. Lloyd's teachings were delivered to a larger circle when Tract No. 75 was published by J. H. Newman; and a permanent monument of Dr. Lloyd's influence was raised when Palmer's *Origines Liturgicæ* appeared. Mr. Goldwin Smith regards "the French Revolution as the greatest calamity in history": [3] and a Christian worthy of the name can hardly be expected to look upon its mad work with favour: yet here is a somewhat surprising result out of such a disaster: the starting of a fresh study of a part of Christian antiquity, which has had great influence in directing the thoughts of men to a region of history that the authors of the revolution would have done their best to obliterate.

I have often thought that Cardinal Newman may have drawn his knowledge of the connexion of the Quignon breviary with the Book of Common Prayer from the lectures which Dr. Lloyd delivered at Oxford. Dr. Ince was unable, however, to gain further support for this opinion from the manuscript notes made by Dr. Lloyd; but Dr. Ince found in the comments on the marriage service that Dr. Lloyd had noticed a very close relation between the address at the beginning of the present English service and that in the same place in a seventeenth century Paris *Rituale*. Dr. Ince's discovery greatly interested me; and when passing through Paris

[1] I do not mean to say that Dr. Lloyd discovered this point. It was known even to correspondents of the *Gentleman's Magazine* in 1795 (vol. 65. Sept. p. 727).

[2] For the knowledge of this fact I am indebted to the late Dr. Liddon, Canon of St. Paul's.

[3] Goldwin Smith, *Nineteenth Century*, Sept. 1886. p. 316. Mr. Goldwin Smith can hardly be said to be a person prejudiced against revolution; he gave up his chair of history at Oxford to live in America rather than dwell under the shadow of the old institutions of a country like England.

in May 1892 I was enabled by the courtesy of Monsieur Léopold Delisle to examine all the editions of the Parisian *Ritualia* now in the national library at Paris. In only one edition did I find an address which corresponded with that in the Prayer Book, viz. in that printed by order of Archbishop de Gondy in the middle of the seventeenth century. None of the others showed an address like this. Now the wording of the address of the Paris book follows that of the English book of 1549 very closely. Both begin by stating that matrimony was ordained of God in paradise and adorned by the first miracle at Cana, and they then both state the three ends of marriage : First, the procreation of children ; secondly, the avoidance of sin ; and thirdly, the mutual help and comfort that one ought to give the other. The resemblance between these two addresses is so great that one is forced to entertain one of two opinions ; either that the French book has copied from the English book; or that both have drawn from a common source. It seems unlikely that the Archbishop of Paris would copy the English service : and the opinion that both draw from a common source is strengthened by the fact that similar addresses, going over the same ground, though the wording may be more diffuse, are to be found in many diocesan books. For example in the *Pastorale* of St. Omer in 1606, the address is very like the English, but somewhat longer. The Rouen *Sacerdotale* of 1640 contains the mention of the institution of marriage at the beginning of the world, and of the three ends of matrimony. So, too, are there addresses in the German *Agenda* like those in the English and Parisian books : amongst which we may note that of Mentz, the primatial see of Germany, in 1551, which speaks of the institution of marriage in paradise and the miracle of Cana, together with the three ends of marriage. So also the Würzburg *Agenda* of 1564, the Salzburg *Agenda* of 1557, and *Manuale* of 1582, the Strassburg *Agenda* of 1590, the Mechlin *Pastorale* of 1588, the Passau *Pastorale* in 1608, the *Sacerdo-*

tale of Brixen in 1710. The *Rituale* of Augsburg as late as 1764 contains an address like that of the English book, but it leaves out the mention of the miracle at Cana. The *Manuale* printed by the Jesuits for use in Japan in 1605, gives an address with the mention of the institution of marriage in Paradise, the miracle at Cana, and the three ends.

A late English Roman Catholic book for the administration of the Sacraments gives in its appendix an address before marriage which begins by speaking of the institution of matrimony in paradise, and its being honoured by the first miracle at Cana, and it then sets forth the three ends of matrimony, as the procreation of children, a remedy against concupiscence, and the benefit of conjugal society.[1]

It is clear then that the materials out of which the English and Parisian addresses were made were known to many. Cranmer does not seem to have taken that of the book of 1549 from any English service book[2]; probably

[1] *Ordo Administrandi Sacramenta et alia quædam officia Ecclesiastica ritè peragendi in Missione Anglicanâ.* Appendix, chapter III. p. 19. No place or printer, but the date 1759 appears on title of appendix.

[2] Cranmer had two manuscripts of John de Burgo's *Pupilla Oculi* in his library (see Mr. Burbidge's article in *A Dictionary of Book Collectors*) and in the part which treats of matrimony (Partis viii. cap. i. sect. C) may be found two of the ends of matrimony *procreatio prolis* and *remedium sanctitatis contra peccatum* with mention of its institution in Paradise. The third is not so clearly expressed, though the grace conferred is shortly spoken of in sect. D.

There is something also in Chaucer's *Marchaundes Tale*, verses 198–211, like the three ends of marriage :

> Ther spekith many man of mariage,
> That wot no more of it than wot my page
> For whiche causes man schulde take a wyf.
> If he ne may not chast be by his lif,
> Take him a wif with gret devocioun,
> Bycause of lawful procreacioun
> Of children, to thonour of God above,
> And not oonly for paramour and for love ;
> And for thay schulde leccherye eschiewe,
> And yeld oure dettes whan that it is due ;
> Or for that ilk man schulde helpen other
> In meschief as a suster schal to the brother,
> And lyve in chastite full hevenly.
>
> Ed. Morris, vol. ii. p. 324.

therefore it has some German origin. Mr. Procter [1] has, indeed, pointed out that the three ends of marriage are to be found in John à Lasco : and I find more than these ; viz. the mention of the institution of matrimony and of the miracle at Cana in the long address of twelve octavo pages which precedes the setting forth of the three ends of marriage.[2] But the three ends of marriage (*proles*, *fides pudicitiæ*, *sacramentum solationis*) are by no means particular to John à Lasco. They may be found fully set out in a number of diocesan *ritualia* which do not give any address to the bride and bridegroom, but contain preliminary rubrics which deal with the nature of matrimony, and the like.[3] Also they may be found in several mediæval writers, schoolmen like St. Thomas [4] and Peter Lombard,[5] and may be traced up to St. Isidore of Seville [6] and even to St. Augustine himself.[7]

[1] Francis Procter, *A History of the Book of Common Prayer*, Lond. 1892, Occasional Offices, p. 438 note.

[2] Jo. à Lasco, *Opera*, Ed. Kuyper, Amstelodami, 1866. vol. ii. pp. 251–263. I find nothing like it in Osiander and Brenz' book (A. L. Richter, *Die evangelischen Kirchenordnungen*, Leipzig, 1871, Bd. i. S. 209).

[3] See especially the Catechism of the Council of Trent, published first, I believe, in 1566. *De matrimonii Sacramento*, cap. VIII. §§ 10–14. It would no doubt have great influence on the teaching of the post-Tridentine *Ritualia*. In the *Rituale Romanum* of Gregory XIII. (p. 505) we read : "Cumque Matrimonium a Deo sit institutum, tum præcipue ad sobolem procreandam, quæ ad Dei cultum educetur ; tum etiam in remedium incontinentiæ, et ad vitandum fornicationem, sancte illo post modum uti, religiose colere, honestum ducere, honorifice pertractare, se ipsos mutuo diligere, et fidem sibi dederint inviolatam usque ad mortem perpetuo servare debebunt." In the Brixen *Sacerdotale* the three ends are given as : "susceptio prolis, remedium concupiscentiæ, mutua conjugum obsequia." The curate is told to give an address on these three heads in the *Ordo celebrandi matrimonium* of St. Charles Borromeo. (*Acta Ecclesiæ Mediolanensis*, Mediol. 1599, Pars iiii. p. 554.)

[4] St. Thomas, *Tertiæ partis summæ theologicæ Supplementum*, Quæstio XLI. art. i. and XLII. art. i. (*Opera*, Paris, 1873, t. vi.)

[5] Petri Lombardi . . . . *Sententiarum*, lib. iv. Distinct. xxxi. De tribus bonis conjugii. Venetiis, 1572. fo. 401 b.

[6] Beati Isidori Hispalensis, *De officiis Ecclesiasticis*, lib. ii. cap. 19. Venetiis, 1559. p. 39. This is a reprint of Cochleus' edition, and it mentions Cranmer in the preface. "Nuptialia autem bona tria sunt, proles, fides, sacramentum."

[7] St. Augustine, *De genesi ad litteram*, lib. ix. cap. vii. *Matrimonii triplex bonum* . . . fides, proles, sacramentum. (*Opera*, Parisiis, 1680. t. iii. col. 247.)

According to Covel the Greeks also teach the three ends of marriage to be : i. Procreation of children ; ii. to avoid incontinency ; iii. mutual comfort and society.[1]

Cranmer, in all likelihood then, drew up his address at the beginning of the marriage service from materials given him, if not by John à Lasco, perhaps by some other German refugee, inspired by the ancient *Agenda* of his country. These *Agenda* again drew their ideas from the writers on the Canon law and the schoolmen, ideas which may be traced far back into Christian antiquity. Cranmer inserted these foreign materials into the middle of the old Sarum address, retaining its beginning and its ending,[2] and making it substantially the form which we now have. He also added an address to the bride and bridegroom beginning, *I require and charge you*, for although in the Sarum and Hereford books the priest is to ask the man and woman if they know of any impediment, yet no *formula* is given. In the York book a *formula* is given, and like that in the book of 1549, the day of doom is mentioned to heighten the solemnity of the appeal.

[1] John Covel, *Some account of the present Greek Church*, Cambridge, 1722, p. 221.

[2] There is a little more than the old Sarum address left in the early edition of the American Book of Common Prayer. In that of 1892 the remembrance of the institution of marriage in the time of man's innocency and of the miracle at Cana has been put back ; but it may be supposed that modern prudery would have been shocked by the mention of the ends of marriage. It is hard to be patient with those who are horrified by a little plain speaking in church, but who suffer their families to read modern novels which an elder generation would have thrown out of the window, or better, into the fire. With a diminishing birthrate, and the evident desire of many to avoid the responsibilities of marriage in the procreation of children, and the bringing up of children virtuously to lead a godly and a Christian life, it is really important that duties of this kind should be set plainly before those about to be married.

Dr. John Henry Blunt (*Annotated Book of Common Prayer*, Lond. 1884, p. 451 note) complains of "unnecessarily coarse words" which "were erased by Cosin in his revised Prayer Book." There is nothing in the edition of Cosin's Prayer Book published by the Surtees Society (*Correspondence of John Cosin*, 1872, part ii. p. 73) that justifies Dr. Blunt's statement that Cosin erased the words "like brute beasts which have no understanding." St. Charles Borromeo, whose piety no one can impeach, inserts the words from Ps. xxxii. [31 Vulgate] *sicut equus et mulus quibus non est intellectus* in his Instructions before Marriage. (*Acta Ecclesiæ Mediolanensis*, Mediol. 1599. pars iiii. p. 550.)

II. Happening one day to show to Dr. Aidan Gasquet at the British Museum the address in the Paris *Rituale*, he suggested to me that there was another point in the marriage service that should be worked out: the hand on which the ring was placed, whether right or left. I was then too busy with other pursuits to follow out the learned Benedictine's suggestion; but later on the opportunity occurred of considering the question a little more fully.

Now in England before 1549 it would seem that the ring in marriage was put upon the right hand of the bride. Polydore Vergil, living in England towards the end of the fifteenth century, tells us that the bridegroom put the ring on the ring finger of the right hand of the bride.[1] In the Sarum manual and in the Evesham book the bridegroom leaves the ring on the fourth finger (that is, counting the thumb as the first finger) of the right hand.

But in the book of 1549 the bridegroom is directed to put the ring on the fourth finger of the woman's left

[1] Polydori Vergilii *op. cit.* lib. V. cap. v. p. 409. Apud Anglos . . . vir annulum insignem . . . sponsæ digito qui minimo dextræ manus proximus est indit.

From the English monumental effigies I have not been able to gather decided evidence in favour of the right or left hand. Some married women have rings on all the fingers of both hands, or wear rings on the ring finger of both hands. The following are the cases most to the point that I have noticed. Alice, Duchess of Suffolk, who died in 1475, wears rings on the middle or third finger of the right hand. (T. and G. Hollis, *Monumental Effigies*, Westminster, 1840–2. part vi. No. 7.) Margaret, wife of Sir John Talbot, about 1550, wears rings on both forefingers, the ring finger of the right hand and the little finger of the left. (*Ibid.* part vi. No. 10.) Lady Crosby, who died at the end of the fifteenth century, wears rings on the little and forefingers of the right hand. (Stothard, *Monumental Effigies*, Lond. 1817, p. 99.) The most marked instance is that of the Countess of Essex in Little Easton Church. The ring is on the ring finger of the right hand. (J. G. and L. A. B. Waller, *A Series of Monumental Brasses*, Lond. 1864.) If both hands could be seen in the effigy of Andrew Effyngar and his wife in All Hallows, Barking, the evidence would be in favour of the left hand; for the woman has a ring on the ring finger of the left, the man on ring finger of the right, hand.

In the portrait of Queen Mary Tudor in the Library of the Society of Antiquaries, two rings adorned with gems are on the ring finger of the left hand, none on the right. It may be remembered that this queen was married after 1549.

hand; and the same direction has been retained in the various revisions of the prayer book ever since.

A great number of the older books, like St. Isidore of Seville,[1] do not tell us upon which hand the ring is to be placed; though the ring is usually ordered to be left on the fourth finger, which is called *medius* or *medicus*.[2] When the hand is indicated in the old books it is nearly always the right.

But there are a few instances in which a direction is given to place the ring on the left hand. At Lyre, a monastery in the Norman diocese of Evreux, the ring was in the end put on the left hand: and the directions are so curious that they are worth giving at length from Martène:

"Here the bridegroom takes the ring, and together with the priest puts the ring upon the first three fingers of the right hand of the bride, saying at the first finger, *in the name of the Father*; at the second, *and of the Son*; at the third, *and of the Holy Ghost*. And then let him set the said ring upon one of the fingers of the left hand, and leave it there, so that from henceforth the bride may wear it on the left hand for a difference between her estate and the episcopal order, by whom the ring is publicly worn on the right hand as a symbol of full and entire chastity." Now John Stephen Durant, who died in 1589, according to Zaccaria, says that the bishop should wear his ring on the ring finger of the left hand, and that the same finger is adorned in marriage with a ring; though a few sentences after he seems to say that the bishop should always wear his ring on the fore finger of

[1] *Loc. cit.*

[2] There can be no doubt that *medius* and *medicus* are often the same: we have the authority of Ducange for the opinion. But it was not always so understood in the middle ages. The Exeter Pontifical (ed. Ralph Barnes, Exeter, 1847. p. 259), speaking of the finger on which the ring is to be left, says: "non in medio sicut in pluribus libris scriptum est; sed in quarto digito." And in some places, as at Westminster, I doubt if they counted the thumb as the first finger. See also the Autun book, p. 112, where *medius* seems to be the longest finger.

the right hand.[1] The Roman Pontifical from 1520 to the present day directs that the ring shall be put on the bishop's right ring finger at his consecration.[2]

The words of William Durand, Bishop of Mende, who died in 1296, are usually understood to mean that the bishop wears his ring on the index finger.[3] Gavantus reconciles the statements of Durand and the rubric of the Pontifical by saying that out of mass the bishop wears the ring on the index finger, but when saying mass he wears it on the ring finger, of the right hand.[4]

The King of England has the ring at his coronation put upon the fourth or ring finger of his right hand.[5] It is the same with the King of France.[6]

St. Charles Borromeo in the fourth provincial council of Milan is particular to say that the ring must be put on the left hand of the bride, not the right[7]; and this language would make one think that an alteration was being made, though the Rev. Dr. Achille Ratti of the Ambrosian Library at Milan tells me that in the Ambrosian books before the time of St. Charles he has been unable to discover any particular direction as to the hand on which the ring in marriage is to be put. The custom ordered by St. Charles has I find continued in the Ambrosian books to this day.

[1] J. S. Duranti, *De ritibus ecclesiæ catholicæ*, lib. ii. cap. ix. § 37, Lugd. 1606. p. 268. Cf. Macri, *Hierolexicon, sub voce* annulus, Venetiis 1712. p. 36.

[2] *Pontificale secundum ritum SS. Ecclesie romane*, Venetiis, L. A. de giunta, 1520. The same finger is ordered in the benediction of nuns and abbesses.

[3] "Porro secundum quod capiti, scilicet Christo convenit anulus digiti, donum significat sancti Spiritus. Digitus enim articularis atque distinctus Spiritum sanctum insinuat." (Gul. Durandi, *Rationale*, lib. III. cap. xiv. Venetiis, Perchacinum, 1568.)

[4] Bartholomaei Gavanti, *Thesaurus Sacrorum Rituum*, pars II. tit. I. August. Vindelic. 1763, ed. Merati, t. i. p. 152.

[5] *Archaeological Journal*, 1897. vol. liv. p. 8; and *The Coronation Order of King James I.* London, F. E. Robinson, 1902. p. 94.

[6] *Le sacre et couronnement de Louys XIV.* Reims, 1654, sheet E. leaf 8.

[7] *Acta Ecclesiæ Mediolanensis*, Mediolani, P. Pontius, 1582. pars I. fo. 84 b.

At Salamanca in 1532 the ring was put on the left hand of the bride, but on the right of the bridegroom. At Aquileia in 1575 the hand of the bride is not indicated, but the bridegroom's ring is put upon the ring finger of the left hand. At Ferrara in 1608 the ring was to be put on the left hand of the bride.

To return to the books which order the ring to be put upon the right hand. The Greeks, according to Goar, put the rings upon the right hand both of the bride and the bridegroom.[1] The Copts put a golden ring upon the right hand of the bride, and the prayers which accompany the putting on of the rings amongst the Jacobites would almost justify the belief that it is the right hand with them.[2]

In the West, the ring is directed to be put on the right hand in the ancient *Ordines* printed by Martène from Rennes, Limoges, Rhemes, and Liège; in the early printed *Agenda* of Colone in 1521, Noyon in 1546, in the *Manuale* of Cambray in 1562, in the post-Tridentine books of Ghent in 1576, Mechlin in 1589, Bologna in 1593, Perugia in 1597, St. Omer in 1606, Rouen in 1640, Toledo in 1673, Ypres in 1693, Poland in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and Soissons so late as 1753. Thiers says it was the right hand at Bourdeaux in 1596.[3] It was also the right hand with the Jesuits in Paraguay in 1721. Even at the present day it is the right hand at Gran, the primatial see of Hungary, and at Colocza, another archiepiscopal Hungarian church. Also in the early printed Roman *Sacerdotalia* from 1535 to 1579, and in the *Rituale Romanum* of Cardinal Severina in 1584 the ring is directed to be put on the right hand. This is also the direction in a book claiming to be Roman, *Ex decreto sacrosancti Concilii Tridentini,* printed at Paris in 1594.[4]

[1] Goar, *op. cit.* p. 382. G. V. Shann, *op. cit.* p. 56.

[2] Denzinger, *op. cit.* t. ii. pp. 365 and 389.

[3] J. B. Thiers, *op. cit.* § viii. p. 455.

[4] The early Italian paintings do not give a unanimous answer to the question whether the ring were put upon the right hand of the bride, or if

But before the seventeenth century had well begun the Roman books had made a change, and the hand on which the ring is to be put was altered to the left. I find this first in a Roman book for the administration of the sacraments printed in 1600.[1] The same appears in the *Rituale* of Paul V. published in 1614, which is the authorized book of the Roman Church at this moment. It might be looked for that the publication of this book would have a great influence on the diocesan *ritualia* published after 1614. And this is the case. With few exceptions the more modern French and German books direct the ring to be put upon the left hand. The English Roman Catholic books, which in James II.'s time resisted the change,[2] have abandoned the Sarum and adopted the Roman custom in this particular, at least since 1759.

We may remember that Cranmer did not think it beneath the dignity of the Primate of the Church of England to invite the opinion of a foreigner upon the new published book of Common Prayer; and that Bucer was graciously pleased to pass a favourable judgement, on the

during the marriage she stood on the left of the priest. The bride extends her right hand to receive the ring and stands on the left of the priest, who faces the spectator in the following pictures of the marriage of the Virgin: Agnolo Gaddi (who died 1387) in the Duomo at Prato, Giotto in the Arena Chapel at Padua, Bernardino Luini at Saronno, Lorenzo di Viterbo, Pietro Perugino in the church near Spello. In the marriage of St. Francis with poverty, the same.

The opposite is the case in the marriage of the Virgin by Ghirlandajo in S. Maria Novella, Florence. Our Lady extends her left hand and stands on the right hand of the priest. In the marriage of St. Cecilia by Francia at Bologna, the same. In the *Sposalizio* by Raphael in the Brera at Milan, Blessed Mary stands on the right of the priest, and extends the right hand. There are thus seven in favour of the right hand in Italy; two in favour of the left.

I have taken these facts from the drawings of the Arundel Society and from photographs which Mr. Dewick has been kind enough to show me.

[1] *Ordo baptizandi et alia Sacramenta administrandi ex Romanæ Ecclesiæ ritu*, Venetiis apud Juntas, 1600. I am indebted for this reference to the Rev. E. S. Dewick. Also I find the same direction in one of my own books with the same title, published at Venice by Sessas, 1606. fo. 93.

[2] *Ordo baptizandi aliaque Sacramenta administrandi . . . pro Anglia Hibernia et Scotia*, Londini, Hen. Hills, 1686. p. 32.

whole, upon the new marriage service. His opinion is so favourable that it raises the suspicion that perhaps he may have had some share in the work. Bucer says that from the ring finger of the left hand there is a nerve which passes to the heart.[1] Now the question arises: Did Bucer or John à Lasco introduce from Germany the new opinion that an anatomical peculiarity lay in the ring finger of the left hand, not of the right? and did Cranmer, not to be behind the times, change the right hand of the old English manual into the left hand, favouring the desire for reckless and wanton shiftings and changes which nowadays we call the spirit of progress? It would have been well for Cranmer's reputation if he had made experiments in matters of no greater importance than the hand on which the marriage ring is to be worn.

Putting Bucer and the foreigners aside, there may have been these reasons for the change of hand. Aulus Gellius[2] and Alexander ab Alexandro[3] state that the ancients wore the marriage ring upon the left hand. Now both of these authors are to be found in Cranmer's library, for a catalogue of which, so far as known, we are indebted to the Rev. Edward Burbidge, Prebendary of Wells.[4] So that if Cranmer had become acquainted with these opinions he might have thought it well to return to the practice of putting the ring on the left hand, and thus to follow the old Greek and Roman customs, as the general humanist tendency of his time would bid him. And the same influence from classical

[1] Martini Buceri *Censura super libro sacrorum*, etc., Cap. XX. in *Scripta Anglicana fere omnia*, Basileæ, 1577. fo. p. 489. "Ita annuli insertionem in proximum minimo digitum manus sinistræ: in quo digito aiunt nervum quendam prodeuntem de corde finiri."

[2] Aulus Gellius, *Noctes Attic.* Lib. X. cap. x. Lond. 1824, t. i. p. 561. "Veteres Græcos annulum habuisse in digito accepimus sinistræ manus, qui minimo est proximus. Romanos quoque homines aiunt sic plerumque annulis usitatos."

[3] Alexander ab Alexandro, *Genialium Dierum*, lib. ii. cap. xix. Paris, 1532. fo. 44 b. "Quem quidem prior ætas in sinistra ferebat."

[4] In *A Dictionary of Book Collectors.* I owe a separate copy of the catalogue to the courtesy of Mr. Burbidge.

antiquity may have been at work with St. Charles Borromeo and the authorities of the Roman See in determining that the left hand rather than the right should have the ring put on it. The latter would also probably be not unwilling to establish some difference between the ring of matrimony and that of bishops and nuns.

How firmly the opinion was held that there was some anatomical peculiarity in the fourth finger, whether it were of the right or left hand, may be gathered from the writers on Canon Law and from liturgical books.[1] In these it is nearly always given as a reason for setting the ring on the fourth finger that thence a vein proceeds to the heart. Other writers say that it is a nerve or an artery. Sir Thomas Browne, in his *Vulgar Errors*, has seriously to refute the opinion that there is any anatomical peculiarity in the ring finger.[2] Vicary, who was probably known to Cranmer, for he was Sergeant Surgeon to four English Sovereigns in succession, published his book on anatomy in 1548, and even at that day he speaks of no anatomical peculiarity of the fourth finger, or of its special connexion with the heart.[3] So that if Cranmer had been content to take the advice which lay near to him, that of his own countryman Vicary, he would have been saved the reproach that can now be brought against him of being ready to listen to vain imaginings on a level with those of a Low-German astrologer like Lemnius,[4]

[1] I notice that the last edition of the Ambrosian *Rituale* (1885) omits the words about the ring finger, "nam et in eo digito vena quædam esse dicitur quæ ad cor usque pervenit," which Dr. Achille Ratti tells me are in all the earlier editions. The Armenians in 1807 give this reason for the fourth finger (Denzinger, *op. cit.* t. ii. p. 451).

[2] Sir Thomas Browne, *Pseudodoxia Epidemica*, book 4, chap. iv. London, sec. ed. 1650. p. 157.

[3] Thomas Vicary, *The Anatomie of the Bodie of Man*, chap. vii. Early English Text Society, 1888. p. 53.

[4] Levini Lemnii Medici Zirizaei *Occulta naturæ miracula*, lib. ii. cap. xi. Antverp. Gul. Simonem, 1559, fo. 123 b. The title to the chapter is: Digiti sinistræ manus qui infimo proximus est præstantia. He tells us how the doctors always use the ring finger of the left hand to stir up their drugs: and makes other statements, equally true, no doubt, of the great cures that he has wrought by rubbing this particular finger.

and to sacrifice to foreigners the existence of an old English custom, of no great importance, perhaps, but still English, one, indeed, the prevalence of which amongst the Greeks with other Orientals as well as the Latins, would almost seem to have a right to be called Christian.

It is wonderful that the Puritans made no onset against this change of the ring from the right to the left hand; they had a text ready from the Old Testament, always more to their taste than the New, from the prophet Jeremiah, quite as much to the point as many of their quotations in favour of "scriptural" customs. "Though Coniah the son of Jehoiakim King of Judah were the signet upon my right hand yet would I pluck thee thence" (xxii. 24). Here it is clearly the "scriptural" custom to wear the ring on the right hand. The Puritans, however, were too bent on making frivolous objections to the Book of Common Prayer to be able to detect any of the real flaws in it.

In many of the mediæval books the ring is put first on the thumb of the bride, with the words *in nomine patris;* then on the second or forefinger with the words *Et filii;* then on the third or middle finger with the words *Et spiritus sancti:* last of all on the fourth or ring finger with *Amen.* This was the rule at Sarum, York, Hereford, and the Welsh Manual No. X. in Dr. Henderson's collection. But at Evesham and in No. VII. and IX. of Dr. Henderson's collection the ring is not put on the middle or third finger, which is passed over. At Westminster it would seem that the marriage ring was left on the middle or third finger: the words run: "*ad tercium* et spiritus sancti amen." At Liège, Mechlin, Tournay, and Colone (1626) it was to be on *digito annulari . . . aut alii secundum morem loci.*

It would be too tedious to review in like manner the other mediæval formulæ; but there are one or two which seem worthy of being noted. At Amiens the bridegroom puts the ring on the thumb and little finger together at *In nomine patris:* on the fore and middle

finger at *et filii;* and on the ring finger at *et spiritus sancti.* In one of the forms used at Limoges the ring was put on the fore finger at *in nomine patris,* and so on.

In 1549, these changings of the ring from one finger to the other were omitted, and the bridegroom was directed to put the ring at once "upon the fourth finger of the woman's left hand." Now this alteration made the English ceremony like that practised at Rome; for in the Roman *Sacerdotale* of 1537 the bridegroom puts the ring at once on the fourth finger of the bride saying *in nomine,* etc., and the rubric is continued in the books printed down to the *Rituale* of Paul V. in which no change is made in this matter.

The same direction as at Rome is given in all the modern Ambrosian *Ritualia* that I have seen. Most of the French diocesan books printed after the publication of the *Rituale* of Paul V. also conform to its directions, even at Rouen as early as 1640.

The English Roman Catholics have retained the Sarum customs in this respect down to the present time. In an edition of the Roman *Rituale,* adapted for England, printed in 1892, I see that the Sarum practice is retained in this respect, though the ring is put on the left hand, not the right.

III. A third change may be found in the marriage service of 1549. The priest, on joining the right hands of the bride and bridegroom, says: Those whom God hath joined together let no man put asunder. It would seem that this important addition of words taken from the Gospel was suggested by the book of Herman, Archbishop of Colone. Of this an English translation appeared as early as 1547, but I will quote from that which was published in 1548,[1] said to be the better.

"Than if perchaunce they haue ringes, lette them put

[1] *A simple and religious Consultation of Us, Herman by the grace of God Archbishop of Colone,* etc., London, John Daye and William Seres, 1548. ¶ Of blessynge of mariages, fo. CCXXVI. b.

them one vpon an others finger, and so lette the ministr (*sic*) ioine their ryght handes to gether and saye that, that God hath ioyned, lette no man disseuer. And lette the pastour saye more ouer wyth a lowde voice, that maye be hearde of all men.

"For asmuche as than thys John N. desireth thys Anne to be hys wyfe in the Lorde, and this Anne desireth thys John to be hyr husband in the Lorde, and one hath made the other apromisse of holie, and Christian matrimonie, and haue nowe boeth professed the same openly, and have confirmed it with giuinge of ringes ech to other, and ioyning of handes, I the minister of Christ and the congregacion pronounce that they be ioyned to gether wyth lawfull and Christian matrimony, and I confirme this theyr mariage in the name of the father, the sonne, and the holie Goste. Amen."

The versicle from the Gospel, Those whom God hath joined, etc., is not to be found in the early Colone *Agenda* of 1521. And in none of the early English books edited by Dr. Henderson do I find any trace of these words. Some few foreign books have them. Amongst the Armenians, in the East, we find that, after the marriage has been blessed, and the bride and bridegroom are returned to the house of the bride, the priest joins their right hands together and says a prayer which ends with these words of the gospel.[1] At Gnesen in Poland in 1549 the priest said immediately after assent had been given : Q[u]os deus coniunxit ; homo non separet. Et ego vos coniungo, etc. They still remain in *Ritualia* for the whole kingdom of Poland, which were printed between 1639 and 1730. At Salamanca in 1532, the priest was told that he might say if he liked after the consent was expressed, though he is warned that the words are not of the substance of the rite : Ego ex parte dei omnipotentis et sancte matris ecclesie vos sponso et hoc sacramentum inter vos firmo in nomine patris et filii

[1] Denzinger, *op. cit.* t. ii. p. 458.

et spiritus sancti. amen. Quos deus coniungit homo non separet. Dios os haga bien casados.

At Limoges, in the collection of Martène, the words *Quod Deus conjunxit*, etc., are pronounced as soon as the ring has been given: at Milan, as soon as the bride and bridegroom have given their consent; and the words may be found in the Ambrosian books from the time of St. Charles to the present day: at Lyons, Rouen, Soissons, Coutances, Lisieux, Seez, Avranches, and Belley, after the priest had said *Ego vos in matrimonium conjungo*. The declaration would seem to be an addition made to these French books during the reforms of the eighteenth century. The Rouen book of 1640, for example, does not contain it, whilst that of 1740 does. At Prague in 1848, the words precede *Ego conjungo vos*.

I do not find the words in any of the early printed Roman books; but in the *Rituale* of Gregory XIII., edited by Cardinal Severina in 1584, they appear in the same place as at Milan. As soon as the man and woman have given their consent, the priest joins their right hands and says the words *Quod Deus coniunxit, homo non separet*.[1]

It may perhaps be noticed that in the marriage of a King of the English, Æthelwulf (the father of Alfred the Great), with Judith, daughter of Charles the Bald, in the year 856, these words were pronounced at the giving of the ring: "Accipe annulum fidei et dilectionis signum atque conjugalis conjunctionis vinculum, ut non separet homo quos conjungit Deus, qui vivit, etc.[2]

[1] These words were retained in the American Prayer Book of the last century and in the late edition of 1892, for a copy of the standard edition of which I am indebted to the courtesy of the General Convention through Dr. Huntingdon. Though the marriage office has been greatly curtailed, yet these important words remain. In shortness the American office almost rivals some of the mediæval rites, but it is not so short as that of the Constanz *Agenda* of 1570, which begins with *In principio erat verbum* and a short address in German, followed by the mutual contracts and the collect *Deus qui potestate*, which ends the service.

[2] Étienne Baluze, *Capitularia Regum Francorum*, Parisiis, 1780. t. ii. col. 309.

If we look over the changes made in the marriage service of 1549 and try to balance our loss and our gain, what do we find ?

In the first place we have lost the old English rule of blessing the ring and of placing it on the right hand, together with a custom, not very intelligible, of putting the ring on several of the fingers before leaving it finally on the fourth. If the ring be only part of the gifts given by the man to the woman, in purchase of her as his wife, there does not seem any good reason why the ring should be blessed, or any of the other *arrhæ*. In the second of these changes, we have been followed by the authorities of the Roman Court and of all who bow to Rome ; in the third we have merely adopted the old Roman practice which has since, it would seem, prevailed over the old diocesan custom everywhere, except among the English Roman Catholics.

Secondly ; although the mediæval custom of giving *pain béni* and drink to the new married couple was discontinued, yet a much more serious duty was insisted upon, that of receiving the Holy Communion on the day of marriage.

Thirdly ; the address at the beginning of the service has had inserted into it passages drawn from the schoolmen, and even from a remoter antiquity, sources which give greater authority to the address.

Fourthly ; the joining of the right hands, though still accompanying the words of consent, has been repeated, and made into a striking ceremony, accompanied by a declaration that those whom God hath joined no man may put asunder. The importance of this addition, especially in these days when Christian law and parliament law are in direct antagonism, cannot be overrated. A declaration like this goes far to reconcile one to the loss of the more unimportant mediæval customs : and we may almost come to the conclusion that on the whole we have gained by the revision of the service. For this we cannot be too thankful, even if we be a good deal

surprised; remembering that Cranmer's love of foreign novelties seems to have been as great as that of a modern curate just returned home from an ecclesiological tour in France and Belgium.

APPENDIX

In this Appendix are printed in part two of the addresses spoken of in the foregoing paper, see above, p. 202. The German address is put first, as it was printed only two years after the first book of Common Prayer; and it seems likely that from some similar document Cranmer took his idea of the exhortation. One of the proposals laid before the Council of Trent was that the administration of every sacrament should be preceded by an address setting forth its nature and benefits. The French address is that copied by Dr. Lloyd, Bishop of Oxford, in his notes on the prayer book in the Allestree collection. Dr. Ince has had the kindness to show me the original book in the Allestree Library, and the copy of the Parisian Ritual from which Dr. Lloyd took these notes.

The word "Paradise" which appears in the first line of both addresses was only left out of the prayer book at the last revision in 1662. In 1549 it ran: "an honorable estate instituted of God in paradise." In "die gemeyne unnd vihische vermischung" of the Mentz address there appears a reminiscence of "sicut equus et mulus quibus non est intellectus" in the Instructions of St. Charles Borromeo, and of "like brute beasts which have no understanding" in our Prayer Book.

Agenda Ecclesiæ Moguntinensis, per . . . Sebastianum, Archiepiscopum Moguntinum, etc., Moguntiæ excudebat Franciscus Behem Typographus, A.D. 1551.

Fo. LXXII. *Ordo ad introducendum sponsum.*

Ubi Matrimonio iungendi ad fores Ecclesie peruenerint, Sacerdos in foribus templi consistens, ad eos conuersus exhortationem faciat in hunc sensum.

. . . Dann ja Gott den Ehestandt im Paradiss selbst eingesetzt, unnd mit sondern genaden befestigt hat, das er nit durch die Erbsündt verwüstet, unnd durch die straff der Sündtfluss nit vertilget worden ist.

Unnd als dieser stand volgender zeit bei Jüden und Heyden, in missbrauch geratten war, hat Christus Gottes Son, unser Heiland, den Ehestand von allem missbrauch reinigen, unnd in seine vorige rechte unnd gebürliche ordnung wider einbringen, unnd unter menschlichem geschlecht, und bey seinen Christen biss ins endt erhalten wöllen, unnd er selbst sampt seiner werden Mutter und lieben Jüngern die hochzeit in Cana, mit seiner gegenwertigkeit und 'erstem wunderzeichen verehret, wie auch der Apostel den Ehestand ehrlich rhümet, und den Eheleuten die säligkeit zusagt, wo sie im Glauben unnd heiligung bleiben. Daher dann alle Christen diese Gottes einsatzung nit gering, sonder hoch unnd heilig achten unnd halten sollen, unnd auss Gottes wort vernemen, das Gott den Ehestand fürnemblich umb diese ursachen eingesetzt hat.

Erstlich, das der Ehestand ein ehrliche beywonung unnd beste, unnd volkomenste vereinigung eines Mans unnd Weibs sein solt, auff das die

gemehrung unnd erhaltung menschlichs geschlects auff erden, und die Kinder zucht in gewissen zeilen behalten, unnd sonst die gemeyne unnd vihische vermischung verhütet würde. Damit Gottfürchtige Eheleut in einer rechtmessigen beywonung kinder gewinnen, und die selben in Gottes forcht, mit gemeynem fleiss auffziehen, unnd also nit allein iren zeitlichen gütern gewisse erben, sonder auch unserm Gott wol abgerichte Gotssfürchtige diener und Christen nach inen auff erden verlassen möchten.

Zum andern, das sonst verbottene Bulerey, schandt und unzucht vermeidet, und die blödigheit der Natur, durch die behülff der Ehe vor sünden erhalten würde.

Zum dritten und fürnemblich, hat Gott von anfang in erschaffung der menschen, den Ehestand eingesetzt, das er in verpflichtung des Mans und weibs, ein gros Sacrament, und eigentlich zeichen geben wolt, der wunderbarlichen unnd aller genadenreichsten vereinigung, so Christus mit seiner Kircher annemen, und der hefftigsten liebe, die er an seiner Kirchen erweisen würde.

Darauss dann Eheleut u.s.w.

Rituale Parisiense ad Romani formam expressum authoritate illustrissimi et Reverendissimi in Christo Patris D.D. Joannis Francisci de Gondy Parisiensis Archiepiscopi editum, Parisiis, Cramoisy et Clopegan, 1654.

P. 293. *De sacramento Matrimonii rite administrando.*

P. 318. Form of betrothal.

P. 321. *Ordo celebrandi Sacramentum Matrimonij.*

P. 324. *Exhortatio ad sponsum et sponsam de Sacramento Matrimonii.*

Le mariage a esté institué de Dieu au Paradis terrestre ; du dupuis honoré par la presence de Iesus-Christ nostre Sauueur ; et en la nouuelle Loy par luy esleué à la dignité du Sacrement, qui confere la grace à ceux qui le reçoiuent auec les dispositions requises et necessaires. Or il y a trois fins pour lesquelles il a esté institué, qu'il importe que vous sçachiez. La premiere, c'est pour auoir des enfans, et prendre vn soin particulier de les instruire des mysteres de nostre foy & ne les esleuer à la vertu & crainte de Dieu, afin qu'ils puissent donner gloire sur la terre, et puis estre vn iour du nombre des esleus (*sic*) dans le Ciel. La seconde est pour s'entr'aider l'vn l'autre à supporter toutes les incommoditez & tribulations de cette vie ; car Dieu ayant creé Adam au Paradis terrestre, dit : *Il n'est pas bon que l'homme soit seul, faisons luy vn aide semblable à luy ;* d'où nous apprenons que la femme doit seruir d'aide à l'homme, & l'homme pareillement doit seruir d'aide à la femme auec laquelle il est marié. La troisième fin est pour éviter fornication & toute espece de luxure, comme aussi pour seruir de remede à la concupiscence ; suiuant la doctrine de Saint Paul, au septième chapitre de la premiere Epistre aux Corinthiens.

C'est pour ces fins seulement, et non pour d'autres que vous deuez contracter mariage, &c.

LIST OF THE LITURGICAL BOOKS REFERRED TO IN THE FOREGOING PAPER.

Alet: *Rituel Romain . . . d'Alet*, Paris, 1667.

Ambrosian: *see* Milan.

Amiens: Martène, Ordo IX.

Aquileia: J. F. B. M. de Rubeis, *Dissertationes Duæ*, Venetiis, Simon Occhi, 1754. Diss. II. Cap. xxx. p. 393.

Arles: Martène, Ordo V.

Autun: *Institutio eorum, quibus incumbit ministrare Sacramenta . . . Iacobi Hurault Episcopi Heduensis.* Lugduni, Sebast. Gryphius, 1545.

Augsburg: *Obsequiale sive benedictionale secundum ecclesiam Augustensem*, Aug. Vindel. Erhard Ratdolt, 1489.

—— *Rituale Augustanum*, Aug. Vindel. Labhart, 1764.

Auxerre: Martène, Ordo VI.

Bamberg: *Agenda Bambergen.* Ingolstadii, David Sartorius, 1587.

Belley: *Rituel du diocèse du Belley*, Lyon, Pelagaud et Lisne, 1838, 3e éd. t. ii.

Bologna: *Rituale Sacramentorum . . . ad usum Ecclesiæ Bononiensis*, Bononiæ, Victor Benatio, 1593.

Bourdeaux: *Rituel Romain . . . pour l'usage du diocèse de Bordeaux*, Bordeaux, de la Court, 1728.

Brixen: *Sacerdotale Brixinense*, Brixinæ, Schuechegger, 1710.

Cambray: *Manuale sive officarium curatorum insignis ecclesiæ Cameracensis*, Cameraci, F. Brassart, 1562.

Canosa: J. M. Giovene, *Kalendaria Vetera MSS. aliaque monumenta*, Neapoli, 1828, p. 101.

Chalons-sur-Marne: Martène, Ordo XI.

Clermont: *Rituel du diocèse de Clermont*, Clermont-Ferrand, 1733.

Colocza: *Rituale Romano-Colocense*, Budæ, typ. univ. Pest. 1838.

Colone: *Agenda ecclesiastica. . . secundum diocesim Coloniensem*, Coloniæ, Peter Quentel, 1521.

—— *Missale Coloniense*, Coloniæ, G. Greuenbruch, 1625.

Como: *Sacramentarium Patriarchale secundum Morem Sanctæ Comensis ecclesiæ*, Mediolani, 1557.

Constanz: *Agenda seu obsequiale . . . ecclesiæ et episcopatus Constantiensis*, Dilingæ, Sebald Mayer, 1570.

Coutances: *Rituale Constantiense*, Constantiis, Tanquerey, 1846.

Evesham: *Officium Ecclesiasticum Abbatum*, Henry Bradshaw Society, 1893, ed. by the Rev. H. A. Wilson.

Exeter: *Liber Pontificalis of Edmund Lacy*, edited by Ralph Barnes, Exeter, M. Roberts, 1847.

Ferrara: *Sacramentale Sanctæ Ferrariensis Ecclesiæ*, Ferrariæ, Victor Baldinus, 1608.

Freising: *Rituale Frisingense*, Monachii, J. Jaecklin, 1673.

Ghent : *Liber ecclesiæ Gandavensis*, Gandavi, Petrus Clericus, 1576.
Gnesen : *Agenda siue obsequiale secundum rubricam ecclesiæ metropolitanæ Gnezensis*, Cracovie, H. Scharffenberg, 1549. [British Museum, 3365, b. 25.]
Gran : *Rituale Strigoniense*, Budæ, typ. univers. 1858.
Henderson : W. G., *Manuale et Processionale ad usum insignis ecclesiæ Eboracensis*, Surtees Soc. 1875, pp. 25, 17,* 157.*
Hereford : *Missale ad usum percelebris ecclesiæ Herfordensis*, ed. Henderson, Leeds, McCorquodale, 1874, p. 437.
Japan : *Manuale ad Sacramenta Ecclesiæ ministranda D. Lodouici Cerqueira Japonensis Episcopi*, Nangasaquii, In collegio Iaponico Societatis Iesu, 1605.
Liège : Martène, Ordo XIV.
—— *Parochiale*, 1592, p. 185, quoted at length in John Selden's *Uxor Ebraica*, cap. xxvi. *Opera*, Lond. 1726, vol. ii. col. 672.
Limoges : Martène, Ordo XII.
—— *Rituale seu Manuale Lemovicense*, Lemovicis, Martial Barbou, 1678.
Lisieux : *Rituale Lexoviense*, Paris, J. B. Coignard, 1744.
Lyons : Martène, Ordo VIII.
—— *Rituel du diocèse de Lyon*, Lyon, Aimé de la Roche, 1787.
Lyre : Martène, Ordo III.
Martène, Edm. *De antiquis ecclesiæ ritibus.* Lib. I. cap. ix. artt. iii.–v. Bassani, 1788, t. ii. p. 124.
Mechlin : *Pastorale, Canones, et Ritus Eccles.* Antverpiæ, Chr. Plantin, 1589.
Mentz : *Agenda Ecclesiæ Moguntinensis*, Moguntiæ, Spengel, 1551.
Milan : *Rituale Ambrosianum*, no date or place, about 1480. [Bodleian Library, Oxford, Auct. vi. Q. vi. 39.]
—— *Acta Ecclesiæ Mediolanensis*, Mediolani, 1599, Pars. IIII. p. 554.
—— *Rituale Sacramentorum ad usum Mediolanensis Ecclesiæ*, Mediolani, 1645.
—— *Idem*, Mediolani, Benj. de Sirturis, 1736.
—— *Idem*, Mediolani, Agnelli, 1885.
Noyon : *Manuale Insignis Ecclesie Noviomensis*, Parisiis, P. Attaignant, 1546.
Paraguay : *Manuale ad usum Patrum Societatis Iesu qui in Reductionibus Paraquariæ versantur ex Rituali Romano ac Toletano decerptum*, Laureti, typ. PP. Soc. Iesu, 1721.
Paris : Martène (Cardinal Bourbon), Ordo X.
—— *Rituale Parisiense ad Romani formam expressum*, Paris, P. Targa, 1646.
—— *Idem*, Parisiis, Cramoisy et Clopejan, 1654.
—— *Pastorale Parisiense*, Paris, Cl. Simon, 1786, in three volumes.
Passau : *Pastorale ad usum Romanum accommodatum . . . in Diœcesi Passaviensi*, Monachii, N. Henricus, 1608.

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—— *Manuel pour l'administration des Sacramens*, Charleville et Reims, Raucourt, 1821.

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—— *Manuale Parochorum . . . pro provincia Salisburgensi*, Ingolstadii, D. Sartorius, 1582.

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Tournay: *Manuale Pastorum . . . per civitatem et Dioecesim Tornacensem*, Lovanii, Laurence, 1591.

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The Lambeth Hearing: A criticism on some of the arguments.

The Lambeth Hearing: A criticism on some of the arguments.

[In 1899 the Archbishops of Canterbury (Dr. Temple) and of York (Dr. Maclagan) held an informal Court at Lambeth, which they called a Hearing. The Bishop of London at that time was Dr. Mandell Creighton. On neither side was there much display of real knowledge; and the Opinion of the Archbishops was thought by some to be not equal to the high reputation of the Church of England for sound learning and scholarship. The following criticism of the counsels' arguments appeared in the *Church Times* for December, 1899.]

During the Hearing at Lambeth in 1899, at which the Bishop of London appeared as one party in the discussion whether the use of incense be legal or not, some stress was laid in the episcopal argument upon the evidence afforded by Daniel Barbaro, who was Venetian Ambassador in England from 1548 to 1550.

Attention was soon after called to the fact that the passage as quoted before the Archbishops varied in several important words from the text of the original manuscript in the archives at Venice. It was pointed out that this variation seemed to affect materially the value of the statement made at the Hearing. Nevertheless, the argument advanced at the Hearing is still maintained; for *The Case Against Incense*[1] has been published, and in it appears the same contention as that made

[1] J. S. Franey, *The Case against Incense*, 1899, Spottiswoode, p. 137. See *Life and Letters of Mandell Creighton*, Longmans, 1904, vol. ii. p. 370.

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at the Hearing. So, without looking upon a statement as final made in the midst of a verbal discussion and controversy, yet its reappearance in print may perhaps justify the presumption that the episcopal argument has now taken the shape in which it is intended that it should continue.

Barbaro's Report, it tells us, is a " very important piece of evidence." The *Relazioni* of the Venetian Ambassadors " give better and more generally trustworthy historical information than almost any other class of documents. They were extremely careful, and extremely minute in their inquiries, and they had a way of getting to know everything that was going on. Therefore the historical value of their reports is very great indeed."

In dealing with a document of the character here ascribed to Barbaro's report, in which the ambassador is supposed to have weighed his words, it is of some moment to ascertain, if possible, the exact words of the writer. In the present instance this can be done ; and I have had transcribed for me all that part of the report of Barbaro which relates to ecclesiastical matters in England.

This transcript will be found below, as an appendix to this paper ; and it will be worth while to compare it with the text which was printed by Eugenio Albèri [1] upon which by some oversight Mr. Rawdon Brown based his translation.[2] He may have done as he tells us he did with another report in the archives. By the published work of Albèri, he says, he has " been enabled to correct some mistakes in the copy " in the archives.[3] If so, the passage quoted before the Archbishops is an illustration of this kind of " correction." But it is plain to any one that the copy in the archives at Venice is the

[1] Eugenio Albèri, *Relazioni degli Ambasciatori Veneti al Senato*, Firenze, 1840, Serie I. volume ii. p. 225.

[2] *Calendar of State Papers . . . of Venice*, London, 1873. vol. v. 1534–1554. p. 338.

[3] *Op cit.* p. 36, *note*.

better text, and indeed, I need not labour the point, for it is admitted to be the original.[1]

The variations of the original from the text printed by Albèri and translated by Mr. Rawdon Brown are neither few nor unimportant. To take a passage immediately before that quoted at the Archbishops' Hearing. Mr. Rawdon Brown has : "On holidays they read a compendium of the litanies without commemoration of saints."[2] This seems hard to understand ; the English Litany was said on Sundays, Wednesdays, and Fridays, which last two days are not holidays at all. The Venetian original is more easy. "On the greater holidays they have different lessons and psalms [apparently the proper psalms and lessons for Christmas, Easter, etc., are referred to]. They read litanies which have been shortened, but are without any commemoration of saints, except at the end." This is not an inexact statement, if we leave out the four last words, which I confess I cannot explain.

Then follows immediately the passage quoted before the Archbishops, from Mr. Rawdon Brown's translation : "They use bells and organs, but neither altars, nor images, nor water, nor incense (*non acqua, non fuoco*), nor other Roman ceremonies." In the Venetian text it is rather this :—"They use bells, organs, but not altars nor images, nor crosses, *non aque, non fuochi* [words which I will not venture here to translate] nor other ceremonies of the hands."[3] *Romani* is certainly in the text of Albèri,

[1] *Case against Incense*, p. 137, *note*. [2] *Calendar*, etc. p. 348.

[3] The Italian is as follows: "Usano campane, organi, ma non altari, non imagini, non croci, non aque, non fuochi, non altre ceremonie delle mani." This is the Venetian text, and it is authoritative ; but it may be desirable to mention that independent copies do not agree with Albèri. For example, the copy in the Ambrosian Library at Milan (S. 96, Sup. f. 217) reads exactly as it has been given above. And in the National Library at Paris one copy (MS. italien, 1368 olim Coislin, fol. 29) has the same reading, excepting the word *aque* which becomes singular, *acqua*. But another copy (MS. italien 1425, fol. 230) gives the same as the Venetian text, omitting the words *non aque, non fuochi*.

I am indebted for these notes to Monsignor Ceriani, the Prefect of the Ambrosian Library, and to Monsieur Henri Omont, the Chief of the Department of Manuscripts, in the National Library at Paris.

not *delle mani* as in the original; and Albèri has "crosses" in his text, which word Mr. Rawdon Brown omits. As to Mr. Rawdon Brown's translation, it seems a bold thing to translate *fuoco* by incense; but it is bolder still to translate *fuochi* by incense.

In the very next sentence Mr. Rawdon Brown's translation has led some to think that there is testimony to the introduction of the King's arms and whitewashing into churches as an innovation of the Edwardian Reformation. He says: "In all the churches on the walls which are whitened for this purpose, below the royal arms, they inscribe certain Scriptural sayings." The original at Venice is rather this: "Everywhere are the arms of the king, and certain letters with some texts of Scripture are on the walls, which are whitened for this end." This is nothing new; it might very well be said of English churches in the reign of Henry VII or earlier.

The original text of Barbaro's report is on the whole more intelligible and more in accordance with some of the ascertained facts than the printed Italian or English texts of the report, ordinarily quoted as representing his evidence. But even with the actual statement of the ambassador before us, there seems to be room for doubt whether it really merits the praise bestowed upon it quoted above, in *The Case against Incense;* or the confidence reposed in it as a basis of argument. Is Barbaro accurate in cases about which we have clear evidence from other sources? Let us examine one or two points.

His dates. One of Barbaro's statements is that Edward VI.'s First Book was printed in 1548. This is inaccurate. It was printed in 1549. And the *Order of the Communion* of 1548 cannot be meant; for he gives, in a somewhat inexact fashion it is true, the title of the first book, which he says is *the public prayers and administration of the sacraments and the ceremonies.* Of course the real title is: *The Book of Common Prayer and Administration of the Sacraments and other Rites and Ceremonies of the Church,* and it bears the date of 1549. Another instance

of want of exact information is shown when he is speaking of the new ordinal. This, he says, appeared (*mandato in luce*) in 1549. It is true that the date printed on the book is 1549, but the book was not "devised" until the first months of 1550, and could not have been printed till that year. A man with exceptionally good sources of information would have known this. Messrs. Gasquet and Bishop have endeavoured to save Barbaro's reputation for accuracy by adding to the dates given by him the real date; thus instead of 1548 they print 1548–49; and instead of 1549 they print 1549–50.[1] But I do not know what authority they have for this addition. In Mr. Rawdon Brown's translation, which they are supposed to be quoting, it is '48 and '49,[2] and both Albèri and the Venetian original give the same date.

His English. We have just seen that Barbaro is not good at translating the title-page of an English book. Does he redeem his character in translations of other parts of the Prayer Book? In the litany of the First Prayer Book of Edward VI. it is well known that this petition occurs: "From the tyranny of the Bishop of Rome and all his detestable enormities . . . good Lord deliver us." Barbaro translates this: "Dalle insidie et tirannie de Vescovo di Roma, libera nos Domine." *Insidie* means snares, as the Latin word does; it is no translation of *detestable enormities.*

At the offertory in the First Prayer Book the rubric runs thus: *Then shall the minister take so much bread and wine, as shall suffice. . . . And putting the wine into the chalice, or else in some fair or convenient cup, prepared for that use (if the chalice will not serve) putting thereto a little pure and clean water.* This Barbaro renders as: "they take so much bread and wine as shall suffice, and if the wine be not enough they mix a little pure water."

Here Barbaro has quite misunderstood the rubric,

[1] Gasquet and Bishop, *Edward VI. and the Book of Common Prayer*, London, 1890. pp. 271 and 274.

[2] *Calendar*, etc. pp. 348 and 349.

which merely directs the addition of a little water to the wine in the chalice. Apparently he has imagined that the words in brackets (*if the chalice will not serve*) govern in some way the *putting thereto a little pure and clean water.*

His information. There is really little trustworthy information in the whole of the report on Church matters that may not be gathered from Edwardian Acts, or the Book of Common Prayer itself. The rules about fasting seem borrowed from 2 and 3 Edw. VI. cap. xix. enlarged by a little gossip. The Edwardian Act of Uniformity supplies a good deal of what is said. The Prayer Book is sometimes ill translated, sometimes inexactly rendered, exact statements being mingled with inexact. For example, he says that all the psalms were read twelve times a year. This is exact; but he tells us immediately that both Old and New Testaments, except some chapters of the Apocalypse, are read once a year. This is not exact. The New Testament was read three times a year, and the whole of the Revelation of St. John omitted, except chapters 1 and 22, which were read on St. John Evangelist's Day. This rule lasted to our own time. What Barbaro is trying to reproduce is, no doubt, the first and second paragraphs of *the Order how the rest of Holy Scripture* (*beside the Psalter*) *is appointed to be read* in Edward VI.'s First Book, which says distinctly that the New Testament "shall be read over orderly every year thrice, . . . except the Apocalypse, out of the which there be only certain Lessons appointed upon divers proper feasts." Barbaro's investigations do not go deep enough to arrive at the fact that only two chapters of the Revelation were read as lessons in the Divine service, the other lessons "upon divers proper feasts" being the Epistle upon Innocents' and All Saints' Days and the like.

His remarks on the Litany, it has been pointed out, are also a mixture of exact with inexact. What the commemoration of Saints at the end of the English Litany may be is yet unknown to me on any reasonable hypothesis.

When speaking of the Communion, the statement is made that the priests then put on surplices. It is well known that other vestments were ordered under the First Book. In fact, Barbaro contradicts himself; for towards the end of his report on ecclesiastical matters,[1] he says they wear sacerdotal garments.

His trustworthiness as a liturgical expert. It is claimed for Barbaro that his observations on Church matters are "careful and minute," being an ecclesiastic, who likewise became Patriarch of Aquileia (not Venice, as the *The Case against Incense* says) immediately after his return. In those days the Patriarchate of Aquileia seems to have been a sort of family living, shared between the great houses of Barbaro and Grimani. From the end of the fifteenth to the end of the sixteenth century there were four patriarchs called Barbaro, and five or six, Grimani. The impression given by Mazzuchelli[2] is that Daniel Barbaro was a sort of humanist, a writer of elegant letters, and of sonnets addressed to ladies; a man who dabbled in philosophy, rhetoric, architecture, and perspective, in whose life the Church took up but little space. Probably he received the promotion to Aquileia as a reward for his political services. What they are who receive bishoprics as a reward for political services is known to-day in this country, and how little such persons are acquainted with the rudiments of their profession. What would be the value of a report upon the liturgy celebrated, say, at a Charterhouse, or in the Church of Milan, written by a modern English bishop, who is a politician first and a Churchman afterwards? Very likely it would be as inaccurate as Barbaro's. It seems hard to believe that Barbaro could have so misunderstood the ceremony of mixing the chalice at the offertory, which is commanded in the First Prayer Book, if he had known a like practice elsewhere. And yet the sixteenth century Mass Book of

[1] *Calendar*, etc. p. 349.

[2] G. Mazzuchelli, *Gli Scrittori d'Italia*, Brescia, 1758. vol. ii. parte i. p. 247.

the Church of Aquileia has a rubric directing the mixing of the chalice at the offertory. So also he is astonished at the rubric in the Prayer Book which tells the sick man that if he be legitimately hindered from receiving the sacrament, he may yet receive communion spiritually. We may not be surprised at his want of knowledge of the Sarum and York rubrics; yet it seems strange that he does not remember *crede et manducasti*.

His criticisms also on the new Ordinal are not those of a very acute ritualist. He notices the oath renouncing the Pope's supremacy; but the other changes in the Ordinal are very little understood, and they are dismissed in a couple of lines. "They read certain lessons, and give books of Scripture with the authority of the ministry." At Communion he notices the long homily, perhaps "Dearly beloved in the Lord," as said before the General Confession, though really separated by the offertory, preface, and canon from one another. His observations seem to be of things that would strike the average looker-on, not the ecclesiastic of any acquaintance with, or care for, his profession.

To return to the passage quoted before the Archbishops. It is true that in 1550 in England many images and altars had been destroyed. So far Barbaro's information seems good; but he likewise asserts that the English have retained the use of organs.

Now, had he known of the attacks made upon Church music, he could hardly have said this without some qualifying statement. The Commissioners of 1549–50 destroyed the organs with altars and images in college chapels at Oxford, because they were monuments of superstition and idolatry. Yet Barbaro seems to think that they were being retained without any exceptions. And bells in college chapels as well as in parish churches were removed by Edward's commissioners. So that this Venetian ambassador, for once, does not seem to have had such "a way of getting to know everything that was going on," as we have been told, and the information

that he offers to his senate can hardly be called complete.

So, too, his statement that crosses were no longer in use in 1550. This was not brought before the Archbishops, because too great confidence was placed in Mr. Rawdon Brown's translation. The word "crosses" omitted by Mr. Rawdon Brown, certainly appears in Albèri and the original, and Barbaro thus stands committed to the statement that crosses were no longer in use. To say that crosses were no longer used in 1550 is rather a wide statement; for it covers the use of all kinds of crosses; those inside and outside of churches, on the altar, or on ornaments, or carried in procession, or the sign of the cross made by the hand. Yet in Edward VI.'s First Book there are the well-known "little black crosses" in the canon, and the priest is directed to make the sign of the cross on the breast and head of the catechumen, as Barbaro himself reports. One who carefully weighed his words would hardly have made so large a statement without some qualification. And in the same way it is not wholly true that all "ceremonies of the hands" were discontinued. The mere direction to make the sign of the cross in Baptism is enough to disprove this.

An examination, then, of Barbaro's report leads us to believe that he was no very careful observer or writer, and that his information was not specially good; what he says can hardly be accepted without confirmatory evidence. Even if *fuochi* be admitted on all hands to mean incense (and Italian scholars tell us that it means something different), a better witness than Barbaro must be brought into court to prove the contention that the English did not use incense in 1550. The evidence of Sandys has been rather contemptuously dismissed when he speaks of the first and second years of King Edward. And to be consistent, the evidence of Barbaro must be treated in the same way, even if a very dubious meaning be allowed for his expression *fuochi*.

With the disappearance of Barbaro's evidence it must

be owned that the greater part of the historical argument in *The Case against Incense* falls to the ground. The rest of the evidence is too slight to prove anything of the discontinuance of the use of incense in England in the confusion of the evil days of Edward VI. It may still be said that there is a "conspiracy of silence" on this matter; and, like many other points in the history of incense, we are forced, unwillingly, to confess that we know but little of what are the real facts of the case.

Another argument, which may be called the argument from omission, may now be spoken of. It evidently had much weight, not only with counsel, but also with the Archbishop of York. Counsel declared it to be "a matter of first-rate importance." The argument seems to be something like this: In the Sarum Missal there were directions for the use of incense. In the First Book of King Edward these had all disappeared; "not only are the prayers left out, but the whole piece of the service; the whole context in which incense is used is left out at each of those three points." [1] Thus it would seem to be suggested that the use of incense was clearly discontinued under the first book of Edward VI.

Let us apply this argument to other cases.

What Englishmen call the Revolution presents some points of resemblance to the times of Edward VI. Both were eras of the triumph of Protestantism. The coronation service of William and Mary underwent changes which may not improperly be compared with the changes made by the First Prayer Book. To one of these I would now call attention.

For some centuries the Kings of England had been accustomed to receive, at their consecration, and immediately after their anointing, certain ornaments which have been called sacerdotal vestments. In the language of the Church they go by the name of the alb or rochet, tunicle, stole, and cope. Prayers were said at the de-

[1] *The Case against Incense*, p. 59.

livery of these ornaments at the Coronation of Kings James I. Charles I. and II. and James II. *O God the King of Kings* was said with the delivery of the alb (*colobium sindonis*) and *Receive this armil* with the delivery of the stole.[1]

In the Order for the Coronation of William and Mary these ornaments (with the exception of the cope) have disappeared altogether. The prayers have gone, as well as the directions to invest the king with these ornaments: of which there is no mention in the Order.[2] The prayers are gone, and their context is gone: so if we use the argument of the Bishop of London's counsel we must conclude that these ornaments were disused. What is more likely? They were doubtless looked upon as superstitious and ungodly; and it would be only natural for them to be discontinued, considering the opinions, not only of the king, but of those about him.

But, however easy it may seem to jump to such a conclusion, the conclusion would in this case be clearly unwarranted. All these four vestments, the "*colobium sindonis* of fine linen," the "supertunica," the "armilla in fashion of a stole made of cloth of gold," and a "pall of cloth of gold in fashion of a cope" are ordered by the Committee of the Privy Council to be prepared, as we find in their report to King William III. immediately before the coronation; and in the accounts of the Great Wardrobe they are duly charged and paid for, even with the cloth that covered them when they were taken to the Abbey.[3] In later coronation orders, one of the prayers is restored, and sometimes a vestment is directed to be put on; and all the four that were delivered to Queen

[1] J. Wickham Legg, *The Coronation Order of King James I.* London, F. E. Robinson's Stewart Series, 1902, pp. 27 and 29. For the ceremonies at the coronation of the other Stewart kings, see L. G. Wickham Legg, *English Coronation Records*, Westminster, Archibald Constable, 1901, pp. x. and xi. 259, 301, 302.

[2] *Three Coronation Orders*, Henry Bradshaw Society, 1900, p. 22.

[3] *Ibid.* p. 78.

Victoria at her coronation in 1838 were preserved at St. James' Palace in 1894.[1]

It may be urged that all the rites and ceremonies with which the Kings of England are now consecrated are illegal. It is not at present important to deny that they are; but it is desired to show that the argument from omission as a mere historical argument may not always lead us aright.

Before leaving the subject of coronations it may be noted that it is a satisfaction to find a puzzle that formerly existed now solved by counsel. For some years I have failed to reconcile the official accounts bearing the *imprimatur* of the Earl-Marshal with the contemporary engravings. The latter have in most parts been plainly copied from Sandford's engravings of the coronation of James II. In the official account of James II.'s coronation, edited by Sandford, the groom of the vestry (apparently a sort of sacrist of the King's chapel) walks with the organ blower, immediately in front of musicians with two sackbuts and a double courtal, doubtless accompanying the singing of anthems by the surpliced choir, who go in the procession from Westminster Hall; and in the midst of the singers comes the groom of the vestry with the incense, and the musicians. Counsel are pleased to call these church musicians trumpeters[2] and to say that the groom of the vestry (a "gentleman") was not in the procession with the clergy, though he really was in the midst of the surpliced choir that was followed immediately by the Dean and Chapter of Westminster in rich copes. Further, we are told that the burning of perfumes in a perfuming pan (doubtless the perfuming pan of iron which, we know, was kept in the king's vestry[3])

[1] These ornaments were photographed by the gracious permission of the late Queen. They are reproduced in collotype in *Archæological Journal*, 1894. vol. li. accompanying a paper on the Sacring of the English Kings.

[2] *The Case against Incense*, p. 81.

[3] Edgar Sheppard, *Memorials of St. James' Palace*, Longmans, 1894, vol. ii. p. 329. "There was a 'Perfuming Pan of Iron' in old days, which was always used in the Chapel Royal upon special occasions": and a refer-

from Westminster Hall to the quire door of the Abbey Church, in the midst of the clerks, by an official whose very name shows his connexion with Church matters "had not much ritual significance."

The evidence that perfumes were burnt in a perfuming pan in the procession to the coronation of James II. seems satisfactory.[1] But I must own that until I was assured by counsel that the same thing took place in George III.'s procession, I had not felt quite convinced of the continuance of the ceremony at the coronation of George III. It is true that we see in engravings, purporting to be representations of the processions of George III. and George II. the groom of the vestry, with the perfuming pan in his hand; and we also see the two sackbuts and the double courtal; in the official accounts, though the groom of the vestry still walks with the organ blower, the mention of perfumes burnt by him has entirely disappeared. Here there seems to be again a fair ground for counsel to apply the argument from omission, and to conclude that no incense was burnt at these coronations. For the evidence supplied by these later engravings is not authoritative. They are contained in books, issued at one coronation after another, which are merely unauthorised revisions of Sandford's work, and of which the text does not always accurately represent the order used in the particular coronation which has been the occasion of the publication.

I have one before me now, printed in 1838, with the perfuming pan, sackbuts, double courtal, and all; even the prayers, said last at the coronation of King James II. are printed as if they were used for Queen Victoria. Yet counsel have accepted this strange kind of evidence at a

ence is given to John Evelyn. (*Diary*, March 30, 1684, ed. H. B. Wheatley, London, Bickers, 1879. vol. ii. p. 430.) In the King's Chapel on Easter Day he writes: "Note, there was perfume burnt before the office began."

[1] F. Sandford, *The . . . Coronation of . . . James II.* in the Savoy, 1687. See the seventh plate of the procession.

time when they might reasonably have exercised a little wholesome scepticism.

Another instance (doubtless many of the same kind can be found) of the uncertain character of the argument from omission may be found in the first edition of the Roman Missal. It will be granted that *Kyrie eleison* has for some hundreds of years been sung at the beginning of the Roman Mass, and it is so still. Yet in the first edition of the Roman Mass Book it is not to be found. The argument from omission would lead us to infer that no *Kyrie eleison* was sung according to the Roman rite in 1474.[1] And if we had only the ordinary of the Westminster Missal, the same conclusion would be arrived at as to the use of Westminster in the second half of the fourteenth century. A farced *Kyrie* is, however, found in other parts of the book, which by chance have been preserved to us.[2]

Another argument has been used in *The Case against Incense*,[3] which shows a want of familiarity with the history of the rubric (that prefixed to the Churching of Women in the Prayer Book), with which counsel were attempting to deal. The point is one on which Dr. A. J. Stephens might have been consulted with advantage[4]; and I venture to say that the argument ought not to have been used. The words *decently apparelled* were only inserted in 1662. Therefore the Judges in the reign of James I. could not have construed *decently apparelled* into anything, because the words did not then exist. There was no direction to come *decently appar-*

[1] *Missale Romanum*, Mediolani, 1474, Henry Bradshaw Society, 1899. vol. i. p. 198. Edited by Dr. Lippe.

[2] *Missale ad usum ecclesiæ Westmonasteriensis*, Henry Bradshaw Society, 1893, fasc. ii. col. 490, for omission in the ordinary of the mass. See fasc. i. col. 298, 354, for instances of appearance in *temporale*.

[3] *The Case against Incense*, p. 53.

[4] A. J. Stephens, *The Book of Common Prayer . . . with notes*, Ecclesiastical History Society, 1854. vol. iii. p. 1755, note on *Decently apparelled*. These words are interlined in the black-letter Book of Common Prayer used by the Revisers of 1661. (*Facsimile of the Black-letter Prayer Book*, London, 1871.)

elled in the Prayer Book in the reign of James I. and therefore, when the Judges asked the advice of the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Archbishop could not then have said that *decently apparelled* meant wearing a veil. The case is so important that it may be best to give it in full, as it stands in Gibson.

> In the Reign of King *James* I. an Order was made by the Chancellor of *Norwich*, that every Woman, who came to be Churched, should come covered with a *White Vail:* A Woman, refusing to Conform, was excommunicated for Contempt, and pray'd a Prohibition; alledging, that such Order was not warranted by any Custom or Canon of the Church of *England*. The Judges desired the Opinion of the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, who convened divers Bishops to consult thereupon; and they certifying, that it was the ancient Usage of the Church of *England*, for Women who came to be Churched, to come *Veiled*, a Prohibition was denied."[1]

The woman who wished to be released from excommunication may seem to many to have had hard measure dealt out to her. There is not one word about being decently apparelled in the rubrics of the Prayer Book of her time, nor in Edward VI.'s First or Second Book, nor in the rubrics of any of the editions of the Sarum Manual in the British Museum that I have examined, save in the Douai editions of 1604 and 1610, which most likely were not known to the Bishops when they gave their opinion. Even in the Douai editions the statement that, according to the ancient custom of England, the woman's head is covered with a white veil, is not contained in the rubrics, but appears in notes at the end of the volume.[2]

[1] Edm. Gibson, *Codex Iuris Eccles.* Oxford, 1761, p. 373. This and the documents on which it is based are given in full by Mr. Frere in Appendix E. p. 138, of *The Case for Incense*, Longmans, 1899.

[2] *Sacra Institutio Baptizandi . . . iuxta usum insignis Ecclesiae Sarisburiensis*, Duaci, Laur. Kellam, 1604. Annotationes, p. 9. Mulier ad purificationem accedens, caput habeat secundum antiquam Angliae consuetudinem, coopertum velo albo, in manu portet candelam accensam, et sit media inter duas matronas. See also *Manuale Sacerdotum, . . . iuxta usum insignis Ecclesiae Sarisburiensis*, Duaci, Laur. Kellam, 1610. Annotationes, p. 282, for the same note.

This one instance will help us to understand how little of ceremonial was contained in the pre-Reformation service books. The rites are given in full: but the ceremonies used with the rites we commonly have to seek in other sources. Those familiar with the unreformed books will not think the destruction of the old books "exceedingly important and exceedingly strong"[1] evidence against the continuance of the old ceremonies, because they know how few of these old ceremonies were contained in mediæval ritual books.

The churching cloth is known from inventories, not from ritual books, to have been in common use in the Church of England before the Reformation, and I have myself found it in the inventories of Christ Church, Canterbury, even in the middle of the eighteenth century.[2]

Nevertheless, this unwritten custom of the Church of England, with no statute, or canon, or rubric of any kind to support it, was enforced by the Judges, even to excommunication. The case is certainly of great importance in determining the interpretation of the law as to the mediæval customs of the Church of England; and there need be no wonder at the efforts made to evacuate it of significance.

It was not the poorer classes, as counsel tell us,[3] but the Puritan classes, who objected to the veil. It was because of the Puritans that, in 1636, Dr. Matthew Wren, Bishop of Norwich, renewed the order in the diocese that the woman should be "veiled according to the custom, and not covered with a hat,"[4] and that, in 1662, the words

[1] *The Case against Incense*, p. 32.

[2] J. Wickham Legg and W. H. St. John Hope, *Inventories of Christ Church, Canterbury*, Westminster, Archibald Constable, 1902. pp. 293, 299.

[3] *The Case against Incense*, p. 52.

[4] Edward Cardwell, *Documentary Annals of the Reformed Church of England*, Oxford University Press, 1839. vol. ii. p. 204, § 10. These "Orders" are dated 1636, when Dr. Wren was Bishop of Norwich. Shortly after he became Bishop of Ely, and a question in the spirit of this order was there placed amongst his visitation articles:

"Doth any maried woman within your Parish, after child-birth

" decently apparelled " were added to the rubric before the office.

Before I close I would point out that, while the historical argument of *The Case against Incense* seems to break down in several important matters, it cannot be said that the argument of *The Case for Incense* is one of much strength. The whole subject of the use of incense in church needs to be very thoroughly examined. This has not yet been done ; and in the absence of the certain knowledge which such an inquiry may supply, it seems unwise to elevate into a point of vital importance the use of a custom which is still under discussion.

neglect to come to Church according to the booke of Common Prayer to giue thanks to God for her safe deliuerance, vailed in a decent manner, as hath béen anciently accustomed ? " (*Articles to be inquired of within the dioces of Ely : in the first visitation of the R. Reverend Father in God*, Matthew [Wren]. Printed at London, by Richard Badger, 1638, chap. 7, § 10.)

APPENDIX

The following paragraphs are printed from a transcript made direct from Daniel Barbaro's *Relazione* in the Venetian Archives. Only such passages are here given as bear upon Church matters. To facilitate comparison with Eugenio Albèri's *Relazioni*, the numbers of the pages of this latter work, containing parallel passages to those now printed, have been prefixed to each paragraph.

VENICE. ARCHIVIO DI STATO. SENATO SECRETA, RELAZIONI. BUSTA 17.

p. 225. Relatione del Clarissimo Messer Daniel Barbaro, che fu poi eletto d'Aquilegia della legatione sua d' Inghilterra, detta nell' Ecc^mo^ Senato del mese di Maggio, 1551.

p. 238. " E ancora un' altra Congregatione appresso gl' Inglesi, che si chiama, conuocatione doue entrano i Vescoui, et le persone ecclesiastiche ne si tratta in quella se non di cose pertinenti alla Religione ; et quello, che ivi è determinato si chiama constitutione provinciale ; et nel proponere et trattare le cose si usa quell' istesso ordine che si usa nel Parlamento, et quello che propone le cause si chiama Prolocutore della Conuocatione."

p. 242. " La religione è come il cuor dell' huomo, da cui depende la vita, essendo quella uno ottimo mezo come si è veduto in tutte le Republiche et governi et massime nei principii, per moderare gli animi et farli conoscere Dio donatore degli stati et delle uittorie, il che non puo auuenire agl' Inglesi, perche niuna cosa è piu inconstante delle' decreti loro circa la religione, perche hoggi fanno una cosa et dimane un' altra, et non stanno fermi in un proposito ; il che dà hormai da dire anco à quelli, che hanno accettato la nuoua legge, et al resto increscе sommamente, come si ha uisto per le sollevationi del 49. et in uero, se hauessero capo, con tutto che siano stati acerbamente castigati, non è dubio, che di nuovo si solleueriano. Vero è che quelli di Londra sono piu disposti ad osseruare quello glieni viene commandato dal superiore, che gli altri, essendo più alla corte uicini. Hora io dico che errano circa le opinioni della fede, circa le ceremonie della chiesa, et circa l'obedienza del Pontefice. L'origine di tanti mali ha hauuto capo da Henrico ottavo, padre del presente Re."

p. 245. " Questo mal animo contra il Papa, è cosi anco confirmato al tempo presente che non è alcuno della uecchia ne della nuoua Religione, che uoglia sentir nominare il Papa, anzi ne' letanie, che si cantano in

chiesa, dicono nella loro lingua, Dalle insidie et tirannie del Vescouo di Roma, libera nos Domine."

"Mangiano però pesce il Venerdì, et il sabbato, et la Quadragesima per dar da uiuere alli pescatori, et pouer' huomini, come dicono; doue per non fare all' usanza di Roma hanno intentione di mutare il Venerdi et il Sabbato in due altri giorni della settimana."

p. 246. "Delle ceremonie ueramente molte ne hanno lasciate, molte introdotte di nuouo et escusandosi che la natura de i tempi porta cosi, non biasimano gli altri che hanno cura delle loro chiese a prouedere et introdurre altre ceremonie secondo la natura de' tempi, perche dicono, che molte sono state introdotte con buona intentione ma poi col tempo sono state mutate in idolatrie, et superstitione perche i pastori non hanno aperto gli occhi alla prima. Del 1548 adunque è stato stampato un libro in lingua Inglese composto per commandamento del Re da molti Vescoui et letterati, il quale è' poi stato confirmato nel Parlamento; il qual libro è intitolato le preghiere publiche et l'administratione de' sacramenti, et le ceremonie. Dapoi è stato commandato che secondo gli ordini del detto libro si debba in Anglia, Walia et a Calès seruare un modo istesso nelle chiese, dico in queste parti, perche in Irlanda, et nelle Isole di quella giuriditione doue non si intende la lingua Inglese, non ui è posto alcuno obligo. Ben è vero che doue sono Studii et uniuersità, come in Oxonia et Cantabrigia, si puo leggere le preghiere in lingua Greca, Latina et Hebrea per eccitare gli studiosi, ma la cena del Signore, come essi chiamano, non si legge, se non in lingua Inglese in ogni luogo. Officiano adunque nelle Chiese la sera, et la mattina, in modo che tutti i Salmi si leggono dodici uolte l'anno, l'uno et l'altro testamento una uolta, eccetto alcuni capitoli dell' Apocalipse. Ben danno differenti lettioni et salmi ne i di solenni; leggono le letanie raccolte in brevità senza commemoratione de' Santi, se non in ultimo. Usano campane, organi, ma non altari, non imagini, non croci, non aque, non fuochi, non altre ceremonie delle mani. Per tutto sono le arme del Re, et certe lettere con alcuni detti della Scrittura nei muri biancheggiati a questo fine;

"Finità la institutione dell' officiare nelle chiese vengono al titolo della administratione de' Sacramenti. Vogliono che'l battesimo si faccia nelle chiese la Dominica et le feste, presenti i compadri, alli quali il ministro fa alcuni parole, essortandoli à pregare per colui, che si deue battezare, et rispondere per esso. Fanno la croce nel petto, et nel capo, et tre fiate l'attuffano nell aqua, et l'ungono, ma l'oglio non è sacro ne in questo, ne in altro sacramento. In caso di necessità si puo battezare in casa. Non danno la communione primà che la confirmatione, che non si fa con oglio santo. La purificatione delle donne, dopo il parto uinti giorni, si fà nella chiesa doue le donne uanno a ringratiar Dio. Chi si deue communicare, il giorno precedente alla communione, o quell' istesso, inanzi, o subito doppo l'officio matutino è obligato di andare al Prete, et auisarlo di quanto egli uuol fare; et, se la uita de colui è infame, nota, et scandalosa,

il prete l'ammonisse, che egli non uada alla communione se prima egli non haverà dechiarata la sua penitenza et affermato di emendarsi, et sodisfare a gli offesi, o prometta di farlo. Questo è commandato nel libro ma non si osserua, perche è stato fatto per una certa apparenza. Quando fanno la communione, i Preti si uestono con le cotte, mandano fuori di choro chi non si communica, prendeno tanto pane, et uino, quanto puo bastare; et se'l uino non basta nel calice, gli mescolano alquanto d'aqua pura. Il pane è pui grosso di quello si usa qui, et è di forma rotonda senza imagine. Si fà la confessione generale dopo longhissime parole. Vogliono, che per ogni casa la Dominica uno si communichi doue alcuni mercanti se la pigliano in burla, et mandano per usanza alcuno de' suoi seruitori, et questo fanno i Preti delle contrade per la elemosina, et anco danno la forma solenne del matrimonio da esser fatto nella chiesa dal Prete presenti li sposi. Quiui è lecito, che li Preti si maritano, et il principale di loro, che è l' Arciuescouo di Conturberì è maritato. Questo è tolerato anco nelli forestieri, come è Fra Bernardino da Siena, che pur l'anno passato hebbe un figliuolo. Nell 'estrema ontione usano l'oglio semplice, et se il pericolo astringe dicono all' ammalato, che se egli si pente di cuore et conferma che Christo sia morto per lui, che egli spiritualmente è communicato, se bene con la bocca non prende il sacramento. Danno pena arbitraria à chi manca di questi ordini le due prime uolte, ma chi è conuinto a terza uiene dato a perpetua prigione. Queste et altre simili cose sono state ordinate l'anno del 1548. Ma poi del 1549 fu per auttorità regia lmandato in luce un' altro libro confirmato nel Parlamento, che contiene la forma di dare gli Ordini sacri; ne dalli nostri alli loro ui è differenza se non che danno sacramento di rinonciare alla dottrina et auttorità del Pontefice. Leggono alcune lettioni; gli danno i libri della scrittura con l'auttorità del ministerio. Usano le vesti sacerdotali, et però hanno condannato ultimamente il Vescouo Uper [Hooper] il quale non consentì ne al sacramento ne àgli habiti, dicendo, che sono ceremonie del testamento uecchio, et seruitù hebraica et idolatrie del nouo, et cosi mettero fine alle ceremonie."

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1680

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'Went to see the Abbey: viewed the exceedingly rich copes and robes: was troubled to see so much superstition remaining in Protestant churches: tapers, basins, and a richly embroidered IHS upon the high Altar; the picture of God the Father, like an old man, the Son as a young man, richly embroidered upon their copes. Lord, open their eyes, that the substance of religion be not at length turned into shadows and ceremonies.'—*Ralph Thoresby's Diary*, i. 60, 61.

1681

'January 1. Afternoon returned to Durham, 2 die Dom. In the forenoon went to the Minster; was somewhat amazed at their ornaments, tapers, rich embroidered copes, vestments, &c. Dr. Brevin, a native of France, discoursed on the birth of Christ.'—*Ibid*, i. 75.

1684

*'In Wats' glossary, published in 1684, he says, with reference to the word *Capa*,—"*Coaps* nos Angli dicimus et in liturgia adhuc iis utimur." '—*British Magazine*, xv., 669. 1839.

1709

*'Rich copes preserved and made use of by the Episteler and Gospeler in the Cathedral Church of Durham so late as the year 1709.'—*Ibid.* xv. 423. 1839.

1713

*'*Until other Order*'.—Which other order, at least in the method prescribed by this Act [1 Eliz. c. 2, s. 25] was never yet made: and therefore, *legally*, the Ornaments of Ministers in performing Divine Service, are the

OPINIONS OF THE PRESS

HIERURGIA ANGLICANA. Part I.

"It is certainly strange that fifty-five years after the compiling by members of the Camden Society of the 'Hierurgia,' demonstrating abundantly the type of Reformation worship which the Church of England struggled to maintain against the spirit of nonconformity within her fold, so much ignorance should still hold the field. We commend this book to members of Parliament. We should also like to see a copy in the hands of every dean, ordinary or visitor of a cathedral church. For here we have the type of a stately and rich, yet restrained and English ceremonial, such as some at least of the Elizabethan cathedrals, colleges and peculiars maintained against the flood of lawless Calvinism, until the conservative reaction of the Stuart period restored order and reverence to large numbers of parish churches also. Lowchurchmen are accustomed to regard the Crown as the palladium of their cause. Yet from Elizabeth to Anne the usage of chapels royal and of the knightly orders supplies the other side with their most striking illustrations."

—*Saturday Review*, March 14th, 1903.

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—*Notes and Queries*, February 28th, 1903.

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—*Church Times*, March 20th, 1903.

"The first volume of the Library of Liturgiology and Ecclesiology, which the De La More Press is issuing under the editorship of Mr. Vernon Staley, promises well for the series. It is the first part of the *Hierurgia Anglicana*, consisting of the documents and extracts illustrative of the ceremonial of the Anglican Church, which remained in use in many places after the upheaval of the Reformation. The original book, now scarce, was first published in parts beginning in 1843 and completed and issued in a volume in 1848. . . . . it is decidedly useful to have, in the present edition of an interesting book, a plain record of things which were actually being done throughout the land, although some of them would be exceptional rather than the general practice. Of the five hundred extracts, which range from inventories of vestments and church furniture, to details of services and charges from the bishops to various churches, two hundred have been added by Mr. Staley, and all of them are of importance and greatly enhance the value of the book. Though some irrelevant matter, chiefly as to the testament of Puritan writers, who described what they saw or imagined, has been left out, the mass of new material now available has been found so great as to necessitate a second volume. Among the new entries is a description of a procession at Windsor on St. George's Day, 1561, and in the inventory of St. Margaret's, Westminster, with regard to the item 'a past for a bird,' Mr. Staley gives us the interesting information in one of his many helpful foot-notes, that this was a paste for a bride, a sort of crown in fact, worn by brides at weddings. Some of the new illustrations, that of the superb rood-screen at Swymbridge, Devon, and a beautiful specimen of Elizabethan work in the chalice and cover at St. Mary's Monmouth, are particularly good. For the study and proper understanding of ritual, such a book, giving as it does in handy form, the substance of much laborious search for actual facts as to what was in existence *after* the Reformation, should prove of the greatest possible help."—*Pilot*, February 21st, 1903.

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—*Bristol Times*, January 10th, 1903.

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